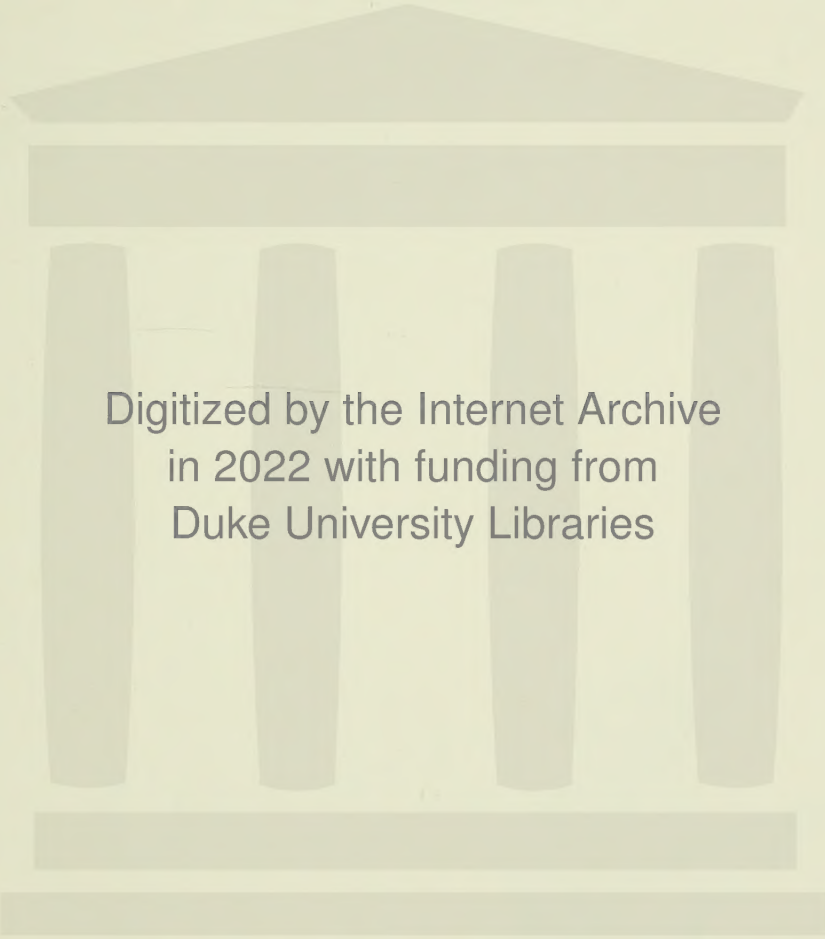


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The Differing Worlds of the Music Illuminator and the Music Historian in Islamic Medieval Manuscripts¹

George Dimitri Sawa

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Introduction

The study of medieval manuscript illuminations as evidence for contemporary musical performance practice or instrument design must pay careful attention to the correlative text before meaningful conclusions can be drawn, for the relationship between what is illustrated and what is described is not always close. The need of such scrutiny may seem obvious, and has been argued effectively in recent decades by musical iconographers of the Western visual arts, but such has not been the case in studying Islamic art. Curt Sachs, for example, claimed the “ʿūd” (Middle Eastern lute) to be unfretted solely on the basis of iconographic evidence, despite an abundance of written testimony to the contrary².

- 1 Earlier versions of this article were read at three conferences: the Study Group for Musical Iconography of the International Council for Traditional Music, Haags Gemeentemuseum, 10–15 June 1986; annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Tempe, Arizona, 20–23 October 1988; and annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, 3–5 November 1988. I would like to thank the following colleagues for their useful suggestions made during those meetings: Walter Denny, Annette Ittig, Dale Olsen, Nasser Rabbat, Noha Sadek, Tilman Seebass, and Maria Subtleny. I would also like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Dr Jan Just Witkam and Francis Richard in supplying me with the place and possible date of the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* MSS held in the Leiden University Library and the Paris Bibliothèque nationale.
- 2 Henry G. Farmer, “Was the Arabian and Persian Lute Fretted?”, in: *Studies in Oriental Music*, ed. by Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), vol. II, p. 197.

Through analysis of nine illustrations in seven Islamic medieval manuscripts, this article attempts to demonstrate the great importance of a more careful method for the study of Islamic art as well—a method that demands an exacting comparison of text with illustration, and so requires adequate interdisciplinary knowledge of relevant languages, artistic practice, musical culture, and historical association. The first two miniatures permit an interpretation of musical aesthetics and the role of patronage, while the rest lend themselves more to an assessment of the instruments illustrated, their design, or contemporary performance.

The Artist's Concern for Aesthetics and Patronage

Figures 1 and 2 are miniatures from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*Book of Songs*), a monumental manuscript³ compiled in the tenth century by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 967). Written in anecdotal style, the text recounts the lives and activities of fifth- to tenth-century poets and musicians in Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Iran, both within and outside the courts; and it provides as well abundant detail concerning the songs they composed, performed, or improvised. No copy of this collection from the tenth-century⁴ remains, and so the earliest surviving copy appears to be an eleventh-century manuscript now in the Alexandria Public Library⁵.

The miniatures shown in figures 1 and 2 are from the third earliest known dated copy of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a set of twenty volumes completed in northwestern Mesopotamia during a four-year period⁶ in the thirteenth century⁷. Of the original twenty volumes, only seven are known to have survived: volumes 2, 4, 11 and 13 (National Library of Cairo, Adab 579); 17 and 19 (Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah 1565 and 1566); and 20 (Royal Library, Copenhagen, 168)⁸. A painted miniature serves as the frontispiece for each volume. Most depict a male ruler receiving dignitaries, drinking, holding a bow and arrow, riding on horseback, or listening to musicians; only one (volume 2) shows a princess and female musicians, apparently in an outdoor bathing party from the harem quarter⁹.

Figure 1 is the frontispiece from volume four¹⁰. The miniature, like all the others, is painted on a gold background¹¹, and is surrounded by a triple frame reminiscent of

- 3 The modern edition printed in Cairo by Dār al-Kutub between 1927 and 1974 is approximately ten thousand pages in length.
- 4 D. S. Rice, "The Aghānī Miniatures and Religious Painting in Islam", in: *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), pp. 128–129.
- 5 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), vol. I, p. 381. Sezgin supersedes Rice (see above, p. 129), who identified the earliest surviving manuscript as one from 1131 A.D. in Istanbul's Feyzullah Library (no. 1561–1563).
- 6 Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), pp. 61–62.
- 7 Rice (footnote 4), p. 129 fn. 4, claims that volumes 17 and 19 of this set date from 1217 AD; Sezgin (footnote 5), p. 381, however, suggests 1258 AD. Both Rice and Farmer date the Cairo miniature shown here from 1217 AD (Henry G. Farmer, *Islam* (Leipzig, 1966), p. 68 (= *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*), vol. 3, fasc. 2). It is also reproduced as fig. 64 (p. 69) in that work.
- 8 Rice (footnote 4), p. 128, mentions volume 13, but not volume 20; conversely, Ettinghausen (footnote 6), pp. 61–62, mentions volume 20 but not volume 13.
- 9 Rice (footnote 4), p. 129.
- 10 Farmer (footnote 7), p. 68, claims volume 2; Rice (footnote 4), p. 131, volume 4.
- 11 Rice (footnote 4), p. 134.

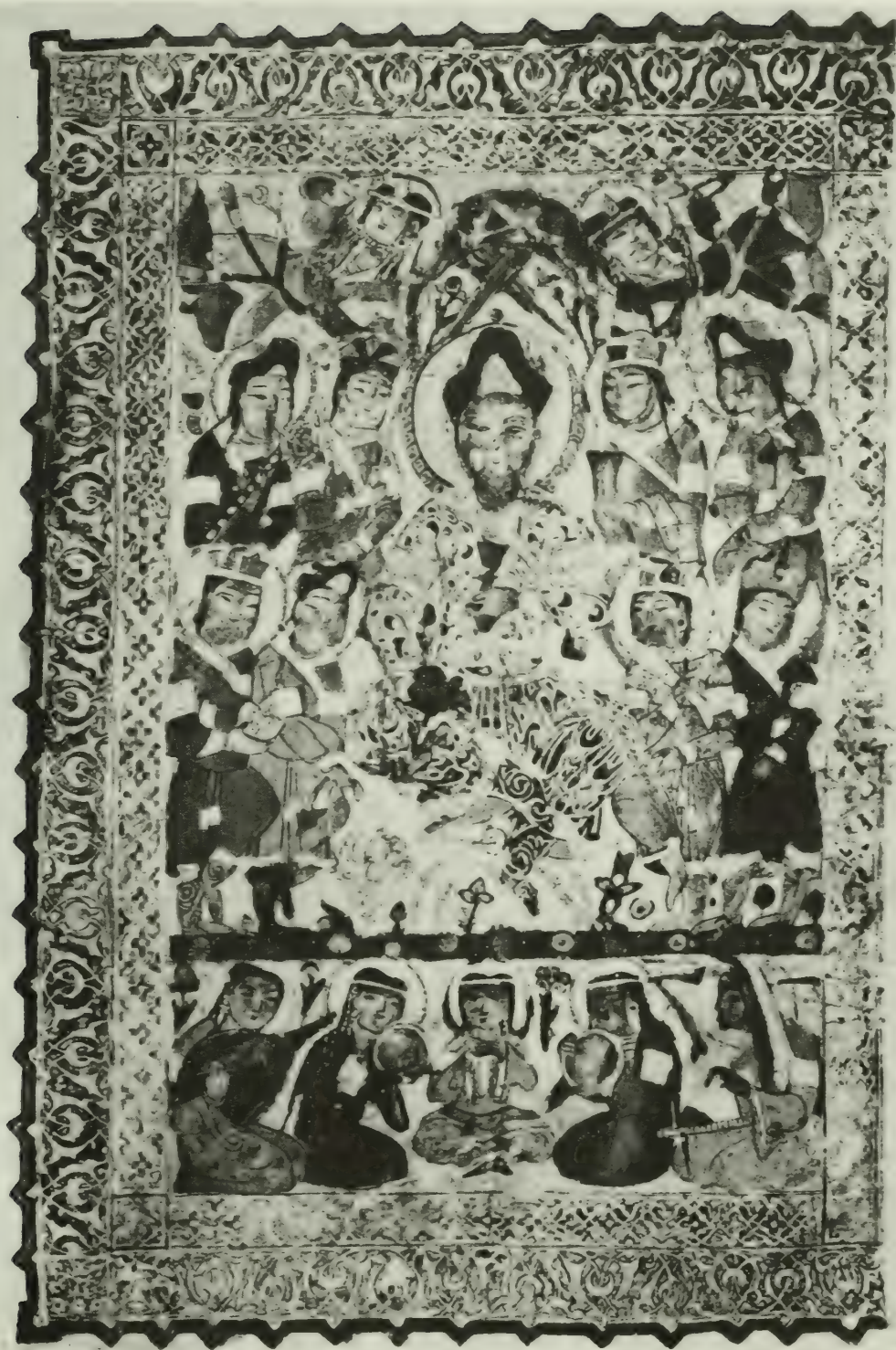


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

designs common to book covers, wooden doors, and carpets: a thick outer line broken at regular intervals by triangular excursions, a middle frame of arabesques with half palmettes, and an inner frame of more intricate arabesques. Within the frame, the miniature is composed of two sections. An upper section dominating three-fourths of the miniature depicts a ruler seated centrally on a portable throne. He is flanked on either side by two pairs of *ghilmān*¹² wearing headdresses (*sharbūsh*)¹³ favoured by the “Zangids”¹⁴, and is surrounded above by two flying genii supporting a canopy¹⁵. Approximately two-and-a-half times as large as the other figures, the ruler holds a cup in his left hand and what appear to be flowers in his right¹⁶. He wears a long coat (*qabāʾ*) of violet material, with large bands around the edges, on the sleeves, and draped diagonally across his chest from right to left¹⁷.

Composing the smaller, lower portion of the miniature are five female musicians, seated with their backs to the audience, and performing (from left to right) on an *ʿūd* (lute), a *duff* (tambourine), a wind instrument¹⁸, another tambourine, and a *ṣanj* (harp). In the *Book of Songs* we learn that musicians faced their audience, not only because it was considered disrespectful to show one’s back to a patron, but also, and more importantly, so as to monitor his response; a negative reaction would quickly prompt the singers to alter the content of a song or switch to a different repertoire. That the musicians here are thus uncharacteristically depicted with their backs to the audience may reflect an artistic inability to portray appropriate perspective, but more likely it represents the artist’s deliberate effort to portray the instruments from the most illustrative angle, so as to place the viewer in two places at once and see both performers and audience in a single representation.

A thick line of uncertain meaning separates this scene from the upper portion of the miniature. While it is tempting to interpret the line as a division of status between the court patrons of high society (thus pictured above) and musicians of lower standing (pictured below), the miniature in volume two of the set (not shown) nevertheless depicts female musicians in the upper part *above* the princess¹⁹. Alternatively, the line could represent the “*ṣitāra*”, a curtain sometimes used to shield the patron and his retinue from the musicians²⁰; but flowers are clearly shown to emanate from the line²¹. Perhaps, then, it symbolizes a step (or steps) that separates an elevated platform from a lower level, or

12 *Ghilmān* is the plural of *ghulam*, a slave boy or man who functioned as cupbearer, waiter, messenger and male lover (George D. Sawa, *Music Performance Practice in the Early ʿAbbāssid Era. 132-320 AH/750-932 AD* [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989], p. 206).

13 A *sharbūsh* is a “stiff cap trimmed with fur, rising to a slightly triangular front, and characterized by a metal plaque above the forehead” (L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* [Geneva, 1952], p. 28).

14 The Zangid dynasty ruled Syria and Northwestern Mesopotamia from 1127–1222 AD.

15 The genii belong to an old pre-Islamic tradition (see Rice, footnote 4, p. 129).

16 Rice (footnote 4), p. 129.

17 Rice (footnote 4), p. 133.

18 It is unclear from the illumination whether it is a reed instrument or otherwise. Farmer (footnote 6), p. 68–69, thinks it is a *shabbāba* (a short flute), and thus not a reed instrument.

19 Rice (footnote 4), p. 129.

20 For a description of the curtain and its use, see Eckhard Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen ʿAbbāsiden*, Ph. D. dissertation (Frankfurt am Main: J. W. Goethe-Universität, 1965), pp. 83–87; and Sawa (footnote 12), p. 122–123.

21 This reasoning was suggested by Noha Sadek, a doctoral candidate in Islamic Arts at the Department of Middle East and Islamic Studies, University of Toronto.

delineates between interior (*iwān*)²² and exterior (courtyard), given the flowers noted in the lower scene²³.

Although this miniature (*fig. 1*) does not indicate the name of the patron seated in the center, the frontispiece of volume 17 of the same set (*fig. 2*) depicts a patron who is clearly the same person, similarly seated in the center on an identical throne, flanked on both sides by two pairs of *ghilmān*, and surrounded overhead by two flying genii holding a canopy; and in that miniature, his name is legibly inscribed on his sleeves: “Badr al-Dīn” (on the left sleeve) “Lū’lū’ibn ‘Abd-Allāh” (on the right)²⁴. Originally an Armenian slave, Badr al-Dīn was a most interesting character who rose through the ranks of the Zangids to become an officer, and was a tutor (or *atabek*) of the two sons (‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd and ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī) of Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh, ruler of the city of al-Mawṣil from 1193 to 1210 AD. When Arslānshāh died, Badr al-Dīn then became regent of al-Mawṣil, and upon the death of the last Zangid in 1222 AD, he became the ruler, reigning until his death in 1259 A.D., shortly before the mongols seized power²⁵.

Badr al-Dīn commissioned copies of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* possibly for three reasons. Perhaps he wished simply to enlarge his library collection, and further may well have desired to learn himself about a most important classic of Arabic literature, for Islamic rulers typically were enlightened patrons of the arts and sciences. One cannot discount, however, that he may also have desired to use such a splendidly illuminated copy²⁶ to perpetuate his own name.

Comparison of the two miniatures described (*figs. 1* and *2*) with their respective texts shows clearly, as Rice remarked, that “there is no specific connexion between the subjects depicted on such frontispiece-miniatures and the narrative matter in the volumes which they adorn”²⁷. In fact, more than 250 years elapsed between the death of author al-Iṣbahānī and the time the copy of the collection was made; and fully eight centuries separated the earliest reports in the narrative from the era of Badr al-Dīn. The head-dresses worn by the genii, for example, are completely anachronistic; they were the fashion of the Zangid era (twelfth- and thirteenth-century) and not of the period described in the narrative. Moreover, such a combination of musical instruments as depicted in the lower portion of the first miniature is nowhere encountered in the narrative of the *Book of Songs*. The tambourine is mentioned only as played by a singer for self-accompaniment, and not for accompaniment of another singer or ensemble playing²⁸. In any case, one does definitely not encounter two tambourines in music making, as the miniature wants to make us to believe. Similarly, the harp was never part of the court ensemble, but like

22 The *iwān* is an “open porch, normally with a pointed barrel vault [...]” Michael Rogers, *The Spread of Islam* (Oxford: Elsevier & Phaidon, 1976), p. 143.

23 This was suggested by Nasser Rabbat, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Los Angeles, November 1988.

24 The frontispiece of volume 19 provides a shorter version of the name: Badr al-Dīn on the left sleeve and Lū’lū’ on the right (Rice, footnote 4, p. 130). Badr al-Dīn was a patron of music; six of his court musicians are known (see Eckhard Neubauer, “Musik zur Mongolenzeit in Iran und den angrenzenden Ländern”, in: *Der Islam*, 45 (1969), p. 236).

25 Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 121–122; Rice (footnote 4), p. 130.

26 Rice (footnote 4), p. 133.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 Very rarely, a lute and drum (though not a tambourine) may accompany a singer, see Sawa (footnote 12), p. 152.

the tambourine was used by singer for self-accompaniment. Musical ensembles described in the narrative in fact included only lute and flute, with the lutenist often as singer; lute, flute, and a singer; lute and a singer; two lutes and a singer; three singers accompanying themselves on their lutes; and an unusual ensemble of thirty songstresses accompanying themselves on lute²⁹.

Why, then, did the artist chose not to represent the narrative? Though unknown, obviously he was not the same person as the copyist, who is known to have been Muḥammad ibn abī Ṭālib al-Badrī³⁰; but this does not explain the discrepancy between text and illumination. A few possibilities are suggested here:

- a) The artist did not read the monumental collection carefully.
- b) Since the copy was dedicated to Badr al-Dīn, the artist must intentionally have portrayed³¹ him rather than the patrons mentioned in the narrative from the pre-Islamic, early Islamic, Umayyad, or early, ‘Abbāsīd eras. The depiction of the ensemble should then accurately represent contemporary performance practice of Badr al-Dīn’s time.
- c) If, however, the miniature faithfully represents neither the narrative nor the era of Badr al-Dīn, then perhaps the artist was interested primarily in observing certain aesthetic criteria. In particular, a pleasing visual balance is effected in this miniature by adherence to two kinds of symmetry: arithmetic and geometric (*fig. 3*). The first is achieved by arithmetic correspondence (*fig. 3a*) between two rows of five figures (two *ghilmān* on left—central ruler—two *ghilmān* on right) in the upper portion of the miniature, and the five musicians below. Furthermore, each of the rows of *ghilmān*, the five musicians, and the two *genii* above as well, are arranged about an axis of symmetry passing vertically through the ruler and the central wind player, providing thus an arithmetic correspondence between left and right. A geometrical symmetry (*fig. 3b*) is achieved through a correspondence of curved elements both about the axis of symmetry and between upper and lower portions of the miniature. Both figures placed along the axis of symmetry (the ruler above, the wind player below) are seated in upright posture, and even the flute held by the latter is portrayed vertically. In addition, all but one of the *ghilmān* surrounding the ruler above, and both *genii* as well, are gently inclined toward the axis of symmetry; so too are the four musicians surrounding the central wind player below. Symbolic deference to the ruler is inferred. Even the set of instruments held by the five musicians below observes a geometric symmetry, from the vertically held flute at the central axis; to a round

29 Sawa (footnote 12), p. 152.

30 Ettinghausen believed that the artist apparently was Badr al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd-Allāh, since that name was “inscribed in the corner of the inner frame” (Ettinghausen, footnote 6, p. 64). He did not realize, however, that both Badr al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd-Allāh and Badr al-Dīn Lū’ lū’ are contractions of Badr al-Dīn Lū’ lū’ ibn ‘Abd-Allāh. Unfortunately, the splendid color reproduction of the illumination in his book (footnote 6, p. 65) does not include the bordering frames. They are shown, though, in a black-and-white reproduction in Rice (footnote 4), p. 132, figure 18. There, the only name evident appears not in the inner frame, however, but in the upper left corner of the outer frame: (“al-faqīr”) “Aḥmad ibn al-‘Ajāmī”. Written in rather poor script and placed unattractively over a beautiful arabesque, the inscription therefore is, without any doubt, not that of the artist but of a subsequent owner.

31 The representations of Badr al-Dīn were “probably not meant to be realistic portraits of the man; the explanatory inscriptions may have been intended to aid in the identification of stylized, stereotyped figures” (Rice, footnote 4, p. 133).

Symmetry of Numbers

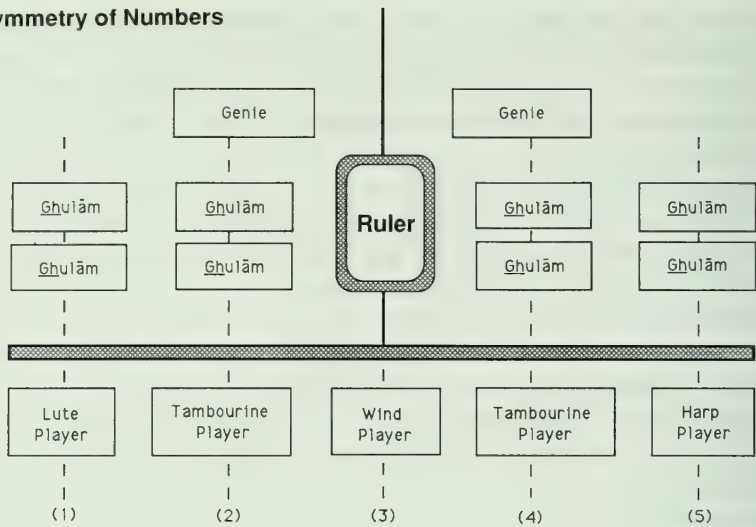


Fig. 3a

Symmetry of Curves

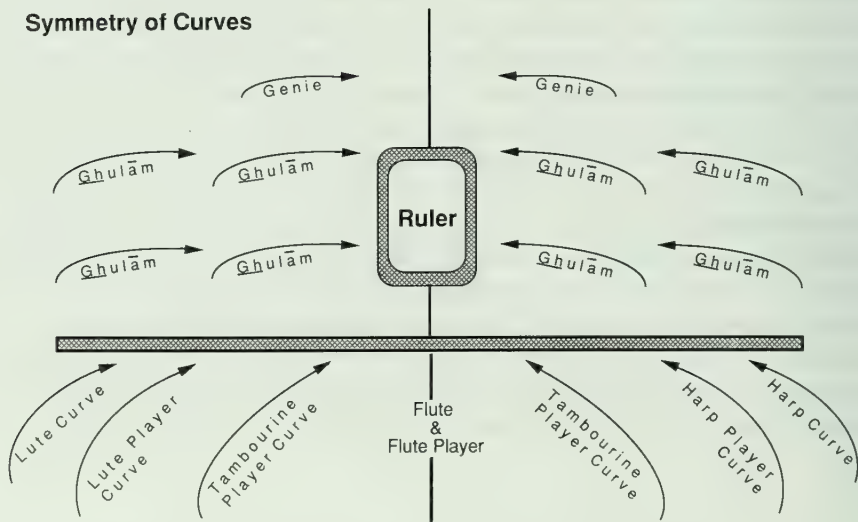


Fig. 3b

tambourine on either side (and not a tambourine and differently shaped drum, for example); to the lute and harp that aesthetically frame the scene at the extremities and by their curvilinear shapes which mirror the direction of curved elements above.

The reasons for misrepresentation of the narrative may thus be due to the artist unfamiliarity with the rather monumental text, or ignorance about the music of the past coupled with a preference of the music of his own time, or—most likely—aesthetic visual criteria.



Fig. 4

Problems in the Depiction of Musical Instruments

Figure 4 is a miniature from page 188 of a fourteenth-century Egyptian manuscript entitled *Kaṣḥf al-Ġhumūm* (*The Unveiling of Afflictions*)³². We see a performer seated on a carpet holding a *sanṭīr* (trapezoidal psaltery)³³ in upright position, with its base resting on his lap, its diagonal side projecting across his left shoulder, and the vertical strings facing forward; with his left hand he supports the diagonal side, while he appears to pluck the strings with his right hand. This illustration prompted Christian Poché to conclude, in an otherwise thorough article on the *qānūn* (psaltery), that “iconographical evidence confirms that the instrument was almost certainly held vertically”³⁴. Earlier, however, Farmer had questioned the accuracy of the illustration, on the basis of an unspecified reference to its having been played in a horizontal position:

Trotz des Hinweises, dass beide Typen [i.e., both trapezoidal and rectangular] des Psalteriums

32 Farmer, footnote 7, p. 102; see p. 103 (Abb. 95) for detail. Farmer uses the alternative title *Kaṣḥf al-Humūm*.

33 In this manuscript *sanṭīr* refers to a trapezoidal psaltery, and *qānūn* to a rectangular one (fol. 166, lines 1–5). Although Farmer, footnote 7, p. 102, finds this distinction to contradict contemporary Arabic and Persian manuscripts.

34 Christian Poché, “Qānūn”, in *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London, 1984), vol. 3, pp. 169–171.

‘nach liegend’ gespielt wurden, zeigt die Abbildung vertikalen Saitenverlauf. Während die linke hand des Spielers das Instrument aufrecht hält, zupfen die Finger der rechten die Saiten³⁵.

Does the text of *Kaṣḥf al-Ghumūn* clarify this issue? The following references to performance practice of the *sanṭir* appear to do so:

If [the *sanṭir* player] plucks with the [fingers of the] right hand and the left hand, he would [then] perfect the playing [of the instrument]. (page 171, lines 1 and 2).

Later, while a *sanṭir* player performed for the caliph Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd and his retinue³⁶ in a boat:

[...] the river almost became agitated because of the fineness of his hands. (page 186, lines 5 and 6).

And finally,

[...] we [the audience] were affected with wonder at his [performance] and were astonished at the excellence of his hands. (page 187, line 1).

The first reference indicates clearly that a good player was to use both hands, and all three excerpts refer to “hands” in the plural. Just as the contemporary trapezoidal *qānūn* of 78 strings cannot be played effectively in an upright position,³⁷ it seems doubtful that the fourteenth-century version, which was larger by almost a quarter and was alleged to have had 96 strings³⁸, was meant to be played as depicted.

The question then arises: why did the artist misrepresent contemporary playing technique? The “magic” carpet on which the *sanṭir* player sits provides perhaps the simplest explanation: this particular artist obviously did not have at his disposal the necessary technique to portray with any accuracy of perspective a three-dimensional image on a two-dimensional surface. Hence, if the horizontal carpet is a valid guide, the *sanṭir* is actually in horizontal position in the eyes of the artist.

In addition, the position of the *sanṭir* as depicted more readily illustrates the instrument for the unfamiliar reader. If not merely a perspective problem, the instrument’s vertical position thus could represent either the artist’s deliberate misrepresentation of what he saw in order to show the instrument at the best possible angle; or his accurate portrayal of a player holding the *sanṭir* not in a playing, but in a “showing” position, for the same

35 Farmer (footnote 5), p. 102.

36 The reference here to *sanṭir* is anachronistic and perplexing, for at the time of Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd (d. 809), neither that instrument nor the *qānūn* appear to have been in use, but rather an open-stringed instrument known as *mi ʿzafah*. Whether the *mi ʿzafah* was psaltery like the *sanṭir*, or a dulcimer or lyre is uncertain however. Thus, either: a) Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd and his retinue are not the right characters of the story and they have interpolated for later patrons in whose era the *sanṭir* was used and known by that name; or b) the passage refers indeed to Hārūn, and so intriguingly suggests that the *mi ʿzafah* was, in fact, a psaltery and was the same instrument later termed *sanṭir*, as the fourteenth-century narrator knew it. Regarding the Middle Eastern medieval psaltery, see Farmer, “The medieval psaltery in the Orient and its problems”, in: *Studies in Oriental Music II* (1986), pp. 9–16.

37 Actually, the *qānūn* is now more often set flat on a specially designed table than held in the lap.

38 page 172.



Fig. 5

purpose³⁹. Another possibility is that the artist intended to depict the musician as he shows his instrument to the audience by holding it upright and playing a few notes to indicate the plucking action and to give a general idea about the sound of the instrument⁴⁰.

Finally, it could be argued that the artist has depicted the tuning of the sanjir, for one passage relates that if the strings go out of tune during a performance, the player does not stop, but rather continues playing with his right hand while tuning the pegs with his left hand⁴¹. This is unlikely, however, for it is physically impossible to play and tune while the instrument is held vertically, and the depiction itself suggests that the left hand is holding the edge of the instrument and not twisting the tuning pegs.

Figure 5 is also from the *Kashf al-Ghumūm* (page 165), and depicts a harpist seated on a pillow, on a carpet identical in design with the previous one. Beginning on page 145, the

39 A held instrument can be in four positions: in a playing position, but not being played; in a playing position and being played; in a tuning position; and in a showing position (Oskar Elscek, *Classification, typology and interpretation of iconographic sources in organology*, Study Group for Musical Iconography, annual meeting of the International Council for Traditional Music, Haags Gemeentemuseum, 10–15 June 1986, manuscript).

40 When giving lecture-demonstrations on the contemporary Middle Eastern qānūn, I demonstrate both visual and aural aspects of the instrument first by holding it vertically, and not horizontally, so that the entire audience may see its various parts. Then, with the instrument still held upright, I pluck a few strings, not only to show the plucking action and technique, but also to demonstrate for the unfamiliar listener the sound of a few individual notes, before playing in the highly ornamental, customary fashion.

41 page 170.

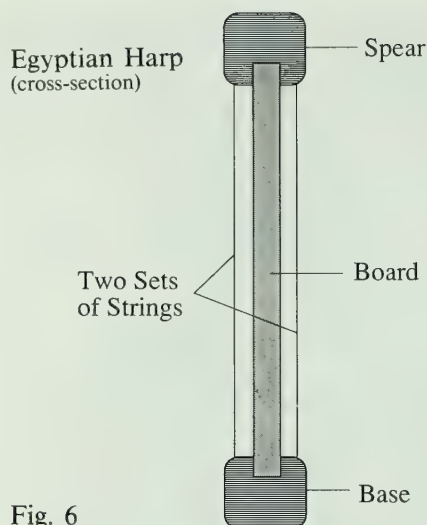


Fig. 6

narrative relates that there were two types of harps: Persian and Egyptian. The Persian harp was used by the Ancients and had only one set of vertical strings, which were plucked from both sides with both hands, i.e., from the right side by the right hand, and from the left by the left hand. The Egyptian harp (*fig. 6*) was apparently an invention indeed of the Egyptians and had two sets of vertical strings separated by a wooden board that served a triple function: it gave the harp structural strength by providing the necessary friction between its wooden parts to inhibit their coming apart; it shielded one of the player's hands from the sight of the audience (a curious function indeed!); and it provided amplifying resonance as a sound board. This instrument was a cross-breed between a harp and a psaltery, a kind of vertically held double psaltery, or what I would rather call a "board double harp"⁴².

Most of the passage is devoted to a description of the Egyptian harp and its construction, with little discussion regarding the Persian harp. The Egyptian harp was either a new and unfamiliar enough invention to necessitate such interested description, or to the contrary was fashionable and called therefore for adequate treatment. In either case, the illustrator chose to depict only the Persian harp (*fig. 5*), as evidenced by the lack of a sound board that would obscure the player's right hand. This choice is therefore rather misleading to the reader, who naturally would expect the miniature to illustrate the harp described in more detail, and might as well expect an Egyptian manuscript to favor depiction of an Egyptian instrument.

It is probable that the artist had to choose between one type of harp or the other for lack of available space, since it was common practice that illuminators were constrained to add their work within a limited number of empty spaces left by a text copyist in an otherwise

42 This instrument does not exist in the board zither or harp zither species of the classification by Sachs and Hornbostel; see Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, "Classification of Musical Instrument (translated by A. Baines and K. Wachsmann)", in: *Galpin Society Journal* 14 (1961), pp. 22–23. One may classify it under board zither, as a board zither with strings on both sides; or under harp, as harp with board (as opposed to frame only) and two sets of parallel strings on each side of the board.

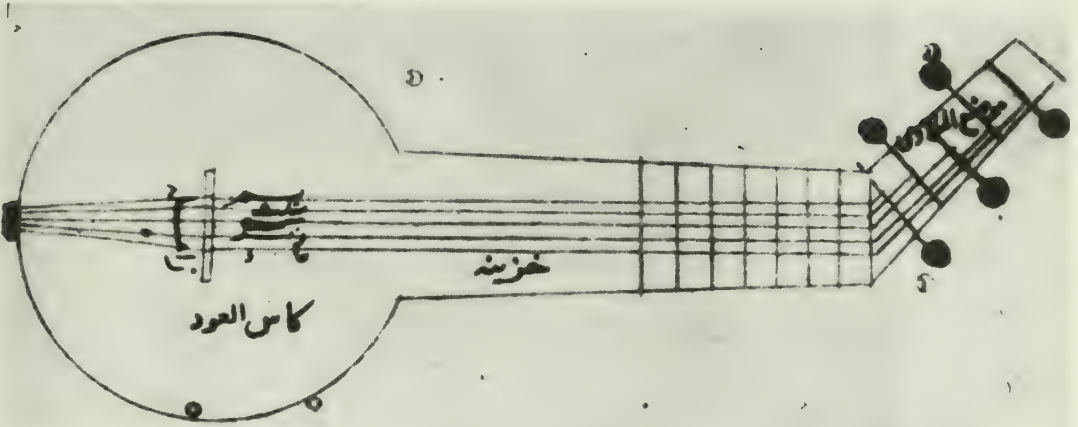


Fig. 7

completed manuscript⁴³. Why, however, did he chose the Persian, and not the Egyptian, harp? Three explanations seem possible:

- a) The illustrator had never seen an Egyptian harp, and did not know the difference between the two (and perhaps he was not even Egyptian);
- b) Although he may have known the Egyptian harp, he did not read the passage carefully, and so automatically reproduced the type more familiarly known, the classic Persian harps;
- c) He found it visually more pleasing to portray a Persian harp that permitted both hands of a player to be shown, than to depict an Egyptian harp that obscured one of the hands.

Figures 7–10 are miniatures from *Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (*Treasure of Rarities*), a fourteenth-century Persian manuscript possibly composed in Iṣfahān⁴⁴; five copies have survived, one in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (MS suppl. persan 1121, no. 913), two in London (British Library MS or. 2361 and India Office MS 2067 [Ethé 2763]), one in Cambridge (King's College MS 211), and one in Leiden (University Library MS cod. 271 (2) Warn. The work is rather unusual for containing a complete chapter devoted to the construction and design of musical instruments, including descriptions of their proportions and dimensions, the materials used, the technical process followed to temper the wood and increase its resonance, and the process of string-making⁴⁵. Each explanation of the construction of an instrument is followed by a small illustration.

In the case of the ʿūd, it is related that the wood used should be of medium consistency, neither heavy nor light; that it must be cut when dry; and that the best wood to use is *shāh chūb* (spruce or pine wood). The ʿūd's dimensions are given as 36 joined fingers in

43 Tilman Seebass, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, personal communication, 1988.

44 The anonymous author states in a poem that although he was brought up in Kāshān, he is composing the narrative in Iṣfahān (line 5, folio 251v, London, British Library, Oriental MS 2361).

45 Occasionally as is the case with the ʿūd playing techniques are also discussed (London, British Library, Oriental MS 2361, folios 260v–262r).

شور انگیز خوانند و از هیچ به خفیف همین کند باشد و این شهر آشوب خوانند و از هیچ به
خفیف به خفیف مل نیز می باشد و این مل دلازم خوانند و از خفیف ثقیل به ثقیل و از ثقیل بر دار
خوانند و از خفیف مل به مل عاشق نواز خوانند و از خفیف مل به ماحوری به ماحوری و
خوانند و اگر زنند ماحور باشد و بعد از دو نفر مل و دو نفر ماحوری نیز بدین باشد که شای
خوانند و از ماحور به ثقیل نافی طری اغرای نام نهاده اند و از ثقیل نافی به ماحوری مساز و
این اشعار است و غنای استماع مرغوب و محسن باشد و الله اعلم مقاله سیوم در صنایع ساز و در بیان
کامله و این مثال به پنج فصل اول در صنایع عود و کینت مقایر که حکام متفق اند بر آنکه از
عود جزو باید در ثقل و خفیف متوسط باید که وقتی که خشک در بلند برود باشد عرض شکل اصلا
رطوبتی در آن خوب باشد و به هر چو می باشد که از جانب به با بار می آید و نه در هر صورت
جوب سرو نیز نیک باشد و در ساختن آن این مقدار نیکه دارند که طول آن سب و شش انگشت منقسم باشد
چنانچه سه بدست تمام باشد و مقدار عرض آن پانزده انگشت بود و مقدار عمق آن هفت انگشت و نیم
باشد و عرض فاصله که بعد از وسط باشد با موضع که مشط بر آن ملصق باشد شش انگشت باشد
و قوی دیگر است که طواع و دیگر از نیم چند عرض او باشد و عمق او نیمه عرض او بود و گردن او که آنرا
خزنیه نیز می خوانند چهار یک بالای عود بود و لوح که بر روی خزنیه دو سانت باید که نیک بخت و تنگ
باشد و او تار آن از پنج نوع باید نوع اول و نرم لغظا و تار بود و این از اماناتند چنانچه ذکر کیفیت
نافع او تار و فصل جدا گانه یاد کرده شود نوع دوم و نرم مثلث که نسبت با سه نوع دیگر اغلاط باشد
و نسبت با اداق باشد نوع سوم یعنی که اداق او تار بود نوع چهارم نیز که نسبت با شش اغلاط بود و نسبت
با مثلث اداق باشد نوع پنجم حاد که نسبت با شش اغلاط بود و نسبت با اداق باشد و وقت کار در
عود کشیدن باید ترتیب نیکه دارد و السلام شکل عود اینست

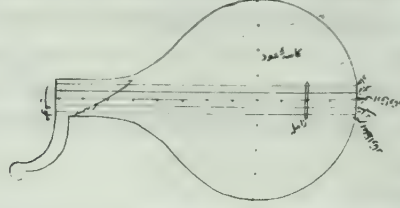


Fig. 8

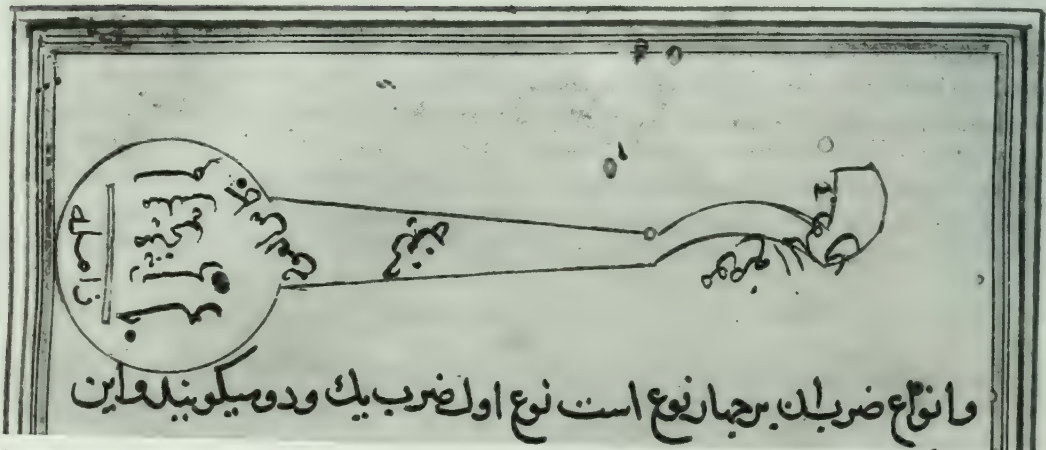


Fig. 9

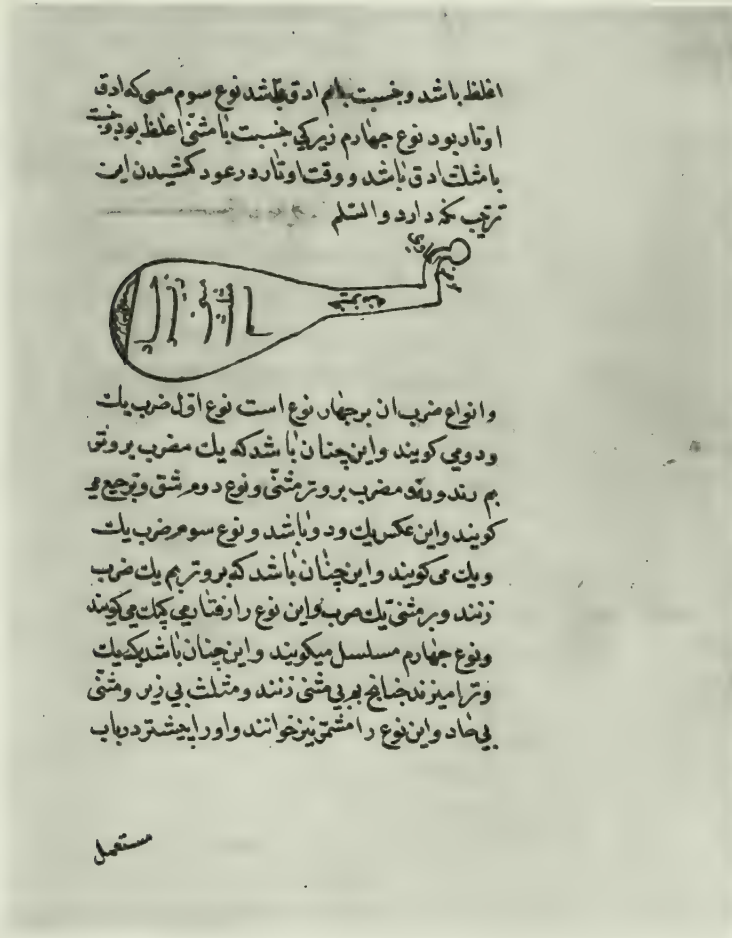


Fig. 10

length, 15 fingers in width, and 7.5 fingers in depth; the bridge is affixed at a place 6 fingers from the bottom of the instrument, and the neck is one quarter of the length, i.e., 9 fingers. The belly of the instrument thus is clearly oval in shape, with an inferred length of 27 fingers (total length of 36 fingers minus the neck length of 9 fingers) and a given width of 15 fingers⁴⁶. Although the illustration of the 'ūd in the Paris manuscript (*fig. 10*)

46 The measurements of *Kanz al-Tuhāf* are taken *verbatim* from *Risāla fī al-luḥūn wa al-Nagham* of al-Kindī (d. after 870); see Zakariyyā Yūsuf, ed. (Baghdad, 1964), p. 11. Al-Kindī's text not only has been edited, but also translated into French with commentary, which includes a sketch of the lute (see Amnon Shiloah, "Un ancien traité sur le 'ūd d'Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī", in *Israel Oriental Studies*, vol. 4, 1974, p. 179–205, with figure facing p. 202). The variance between the two texts occurs right after the dimensions are given. In al-Kindī's text, the length of the 'ūd (30 fingers, not including the 6 fingers between the bridge and the bottom edge) is given as twice its width of 15 fingers. In *Kanz al-Tuhāf* the length, according to "another view" (*ghulī digār*; see London, British Library, Oriental MS 2361 fol. 260v., line 12) is said to be one-and-a-half times the width (Farmer, footnote 7, p. 98). In either case there is no possibility for the belly to have a circular shape.

does show an oval-shaped lute, each of the corresponding illustrations in the copies of British Library (*fig. 7*), Leiden (*fig. 8*), and India Office (*fig. 9*), inaccurately depict a circular belly. In these latter cases, perhaps the illustrator found it easier, neater, and faster to draw a circle with a compass than to draw an oval-shaped belly⁴⁷; and, in any event, he cannot have been too much concerned with providing a realistic representation of the instrument⁴⁸.

Conclusion

Illumination of musicians and musical instruments in medieval Islamic manuscripts thus can be misleading if not critically studied and compared with the correlative text. In this article, illuminations from six manuscripts have been shown to be inconsistent with regard to what is described in the narrative, and inaccurate, more specifically, with regard to ensemble instrumentation, instrument playing position, and instrument shape and design. While the reasons for such inaccuracies vary from manuscript to manuscript, they all relate to the fact that the artist was not the copyist, and was not necessarily concerned with accurate representation of the text. First, he may not always have read the text carefully, and may not have been interested in organological correct rendering. Even if that is not the case, an artist may not have been familiar with specialized subject matter (i.e., music) within the narrative, nor its historical context, since centuries often separated the era of the narrative from the time of copyist and illuminator; thus he could not possibly have illustrated the text with any accuracy, even had he attempted to do so. When commissioned by a patron, the artist furthermore may have felt more obliged to depict scenes of the patron and his era than to abide by the narrative. And in all cases, the medieval illuminator was severely constrained by space and sometimes by his artistic technique that lacked the ability to represent three-dimensional perspective; what appears to be vertical on the page, may in fact represent something horizontal, and thus, for example, what appears to depict the showing position of an instrument, may really be its intended—but failed—playing position. Finally, the illuminator, as artist, may well have been interested more in the aesthetic than in the accurately representative. The world of the illuminator indeed differed dramatically from that of the musician. Scholars of today should appreciate it for what it is and relate it to the text which it accompanies.

47 Tilman Seebass, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, personal communication, 1989.

48 A participant at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Los Angeles, 2–5 November 1988, suggested that the illustrator was only interested to draw a quick, rough sketch.

The Image of King David in Prayer in Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours

Margareth Boyer Owens

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 Boucicaut Master, *David in prayer*. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2 (Boucicaut Hours, Paris, ca. 1405–1408), folio 125v. – Photo: J. E. Bulloz, Paris
- Fig. 2 Maître François, *David in prayer*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 214 (Book of Hours, Paris, third quarter of the 15th century), folio 67. – Photo: Walters Art Gallery
- Fig. 3 *David in prayer*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 284 (Book of Hours, France, probably Rouen, ca. 1460), folio 69. – Photo: Walters Art Gallery
- Fig. 4 *David in prayer*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 208 (Book of Hours, France or Flanders, perhaps Tournai, third quarter of the 15th century), folio 128. – Photo: Walters Art Gallery
- Fig. 5 Master of the Munich Golden Legend, *David's sin and repentance*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library (Sobieski Hours, Paris, ca. 1420–25), folio 78. – Photo: The Royal Library
- Fig. 6 *David in prayer*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 276 (Book of Hours, France, ca. 1415–20), folio 79. – Photo: Walters Art Gallery
- Fig. 7 Master of the Harvard Hannibal, *David in prayer*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 287 (Book of Hours, Paris, ca. 1430), folio 86. – Photo: Walters Art Gallery

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The miniature by the Boucicaut Master reproduced in *figure 1*, from the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, MS 2)¹, is a splendid example of an important image in fifteenth-century manuscript painting: King David in prayer, the subject most often represented in Books of Hours as the illustration for the Penitential Psalms. Typical pictures show David kneeling in prayer with a harp, his musical attribute as author of the psalms, set aside, as can be seen in the miniature by the Boucicaut Master. Other elements in the iconography of the pictures may vary. David may be shown wearing royal robes and a crown (as he is in the miniature from the Boucicaut Hours), or his crown and scepter, like his harp, may be laid aside. Sometimes David is depicted praying indoors or in the courtyard of what could be a royal house or palace, but more often he is portrayed out of doors, again as in the miniature in the Boucicaut Hours. When David is shown indoors, a chapel interior, with an altar or a prie-dieu may be represented (*fig. 2*). Other details, suggested by various accounts of David's sin and repentance are incorporated into some pictures of David in prayer: David shown before the prophet Nathan (*fig. 3*), an angel who appears to David holding a sword or three arrows or other symbolic objects (also in *figure 3*); a trench or hole in the ground in which David stands; or a walled city or palace represented in pictures that show David out of doors (*fig. 4*).

1 The Boucicaut Master and the Boucicaut Hours are treated at length in Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968) (= *National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art*). The miniature of David in prayer from the Boucicaut Hours is reproduced in color there as the frontispiece.



Fig. 1

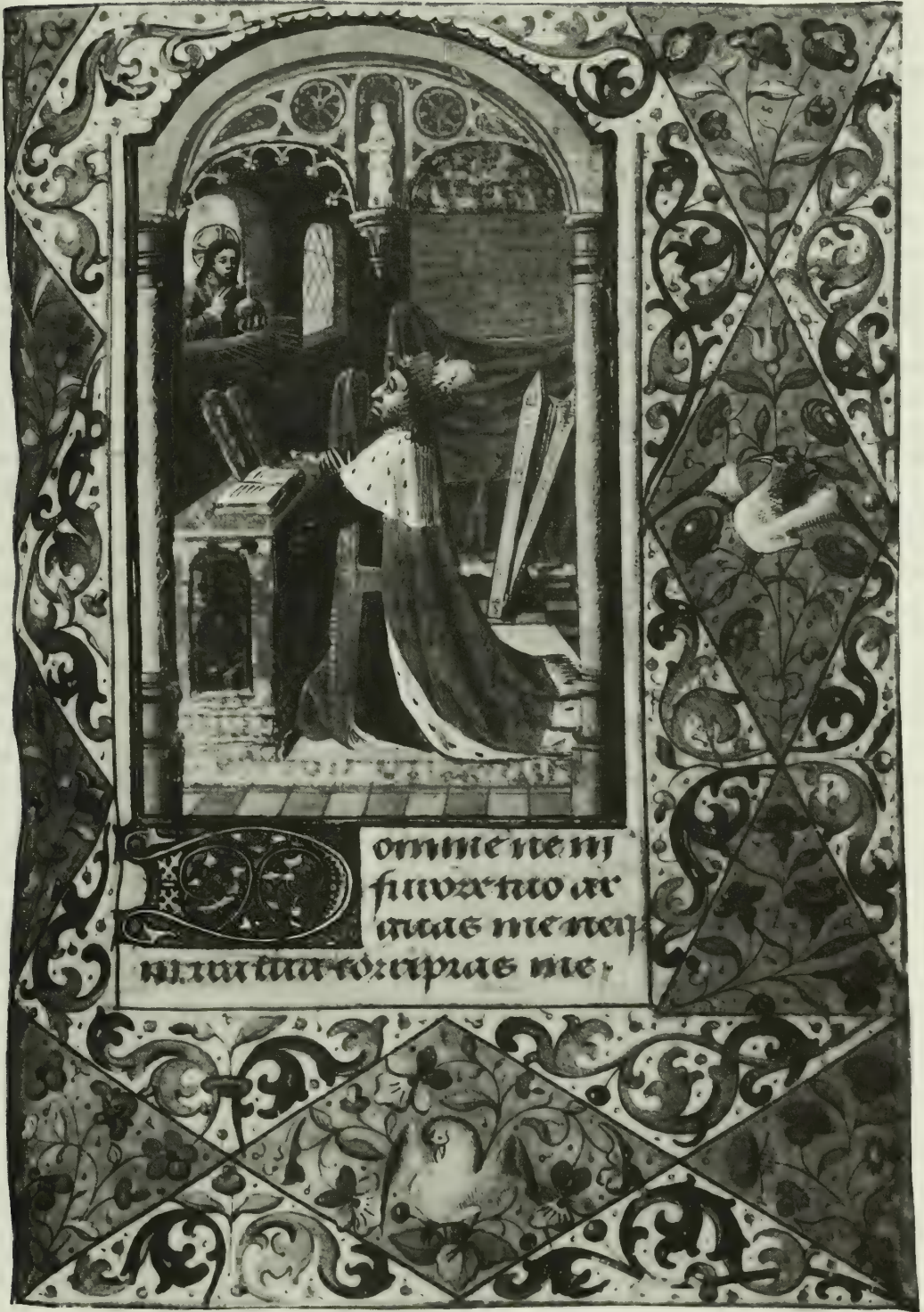


Fig. 2

Before discussing the development of the image of David in prayer, brief mention of the text with which the miniatures of this subject were associated and its place in the manuscripts seems in order. The Penitential Psalms (Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) are one of the texts found in almost every Book of Hours². First enumerated by Cassiodorus and recited along with a litany as a lenten observance in monasteries as early as the fifth century, the Penitential Psalms enjoyed widespread popularity as a devotional text in the later Middle Ages—as, indeed, the appearance of the text in Books of Hours demonstrates³. The Penitential Psalms were also the subject of numerous translations, paraphrases, commentaries, and sermons in the fifteenth, sixteen, and seventeenth centuries; even into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these psalms continued to be a popular topic for small tracts and lenten-season sermons. In Books of Hours, the Penitential Psalms appear with a single antiphon, “Ne reminiscaris Domine”, that serves for the entire set of seven psalms; the Penitential Psalms are almost invariably followed by a litany, and the two texts apparently were said together as a single devotion⁴. Recitation of the Penitential Psalms was associated primarily with confession and penance or the preparation for death; the seven psalms were also said by some as protection against the seven deadly sins, and in some Books of Hours, prayers against the seven deadly sins are interspersed with the Penitential Psalms⁵.

The subject of David in prayer seems to have been created by French book painters about the beginning fifteenth century specifically for the illustration of the Penitential Psalms in Books of Hours. This new image of David grew out of the artistic tradition of the illustrated Psalter and Biblical and medieval traditions surrounding the figure of David. The pictures were based, not on the words of the Psalm texts, but on popular notions about David's repentance and his composition of the Penitential Psalms.

Ideas about David's repentance derive, first of all, from the accounts in the Biblical histories of David's life of two occasions on which David sinned, was reproached for his sins, and repented. Both instances were sometimes depicted in cycles of pictures from the

2 Victor Leroquais, in the introduction to his catalogue of the Books of Hours in the Bibliothèque nationale, lists the Penitential Psalms as one of the “essential elements” (i.e., texts) of Books of Hours, along with a Calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, Litanies, and Suffrages (Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. and supplement [Paris, 1927–43], especially p. xiv). For other introductions to Books of Hours and their contents, see also Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1983), pp. 243–282; Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston, 1986), pp. 159–185; and Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988). On the use and treatment of musical subject matter in the decoration of Books of Hours, see Margareth Boyer Owens, *Musical Subjects in the Illumination of Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century France and Flanders* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1987).

3 On the use of the Penitential Psalms at various times and places in the Middle Ages, see S. J. P. van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Westminster, Md., 1960), pp. 20, 38, 138, 270, 274, 348, and 466–8; see also Charles A. Huttar, “Frail Grass and Firm Tree: David as a Model of Repentance in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance”, in: *The David Myth in Western Literature*, ed. Raymond Jean Frontain and Jan Wojcik (West Lafayette, Indiana, 1980), p. 51, and especially p. 190, n. 48. As will be apparent, I am indebted to Huttar's article for much of what follows.

4 See L. M. J. Delaissé, “The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book,” in: *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), p. 204. The Penitential Psalms in Chicago, Newberry Library MS 83, a prayerbook made for Anne of Brittany, are followed immediately by a litany and a group of prayers after which appears the rubric “*Expliciunt vii psalmi penitentiales*”.

5 Huttar (footnote 3), p. 52; Wieck (footnote 2), pp. 99–100.

life of David in early Psalters and Bibles, and these illustrations, as well as the narratives themselves, are the sources for some of the elements depicted in the miniatures of David in prayer. The first episode in the Bible, found in 2 Samuel, chapters 11 and 12, tells how David sinned by talking Bathsheba in adultery and arranging that her husband, Uriah, should be killed in battle; how the prophet Nathan confronted David with his sins and predicted that, as punishment, the son born to David and Bathsheba should die; how David admitted his guilt and repented; and how he prayed that his son's life be spared⁶. Accounts of the second occasion when David sinned are contained in 2 Samuel, chapter 24, and in 1 Chronicles, chapter 21. These passages describe how David was guilty of the sin of pride in demanding a census of Israel and Judah; how the prophet Gad was sent by God to rebuke David; and how David repented and was offered the choice among three punishments: famine, war, or pestilence⁷. The choice offered David was represented in early illuminated manuscripts as an angel who offers David three arrows or three different objects—often a skull, a sword, and a scourge—symbolizing the three punishments. The angel bearing a sword or other objects who appears in some of the miniatures of David in prayer clearly derives from the earlier illustrations, but it is not likely that the miniatures in Book of Hours were meant to represent the scene from the story of the census. At some point in the artistic tradition, the sword-bearing angel came to be associated with the story of David and Nathan (for instance, in the miniature reproduced as *figure 3*), for in the popular imagination it was David's sin with Bathsheba and his rebuke by Nathan and subsequent repentance that were associated in particular with the Penitential Psalms⁸.

By the later Middle Ages, various accretions to the Biblical story of David's repentance had appeared in popular legends and the works of medieval writers. Most important in relation to the miniatures of David in prayer were the ideas that David's remorse was so great that he spent a period of time in isolation and that he composed the Penitential Psalms during this time as an expression of his repentance⁹. The pictures in Books of Hours, then, are meant to show us not only David as a repentant sinner, but also how David wrote this group of Psalms. This is made especially clear in an elaborate page for the beginning of the Penitential Psalms painted by the Master of the Munich Golden Legend in the Sobieski Hours, a Book of Hours produced in Paris sometime between about 1420 and 1425 and now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (*fig. 5*)¹⁰. The story of David's sin and repentance is depicted in six scenes: David watching Bathsheba and sending her a message, David welcomed by Bathsheba, Uriah before David, Uriah killed in battle, David before Nathan, and finally, David in prayer. The picture of David in prayer incorporates a scroll with the text "Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam", the opening words of Psalm 50 (the fourth of the Penitential Psalms)¹¹.

6 2 Samuel 11:1–12:25.

7 2 Samuel 24:1–17; 1 Chronicles 21:1–17.

8 Huttar (footnote 3), especially pp. 46–47.

9 Huttar (footnote 3), pp. 39–45, 47–52.

10 The Sobieski Hours, folio 78. For information on the manuscript, see Eleonor P. Spencer, *The Sobieski Hours: A Manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle* (London, 1977) (= *Roxburgh Club*). The miniature for the Penitential Psalms is reproduced there as plate xxxviii and is discussed, pp. 27–28.

11 Writers in the later Middle Ages were not unanimous in associating the entire set of Penitential Psalms with David's sin with Bathsheba (or any other single event), and a few writers even attributed some of the psalms to other authors. Psalm 50 was more or less consistently associated with David's sin with Bathsheba.



Fig. 3

Medieval Christian legends, as well as earlier Jewish and Moslem legends, all contain accounts of David's withdrawal from society or his seeking solitude in the wilderness at the time of his repentance. The notion that David spent time alone in the wilderness or removed from society is reflected in the miniatures of David in prayer that portray David in a landscape setting, as does the miniature in the Boucicaut Hours, and those in which David is represented just outside a walled city or palace, as he is, for example, in *figure 4*.



Fig. 4

In some accounts, the idea of David's withdrawal from society is elaborated upon, and David is described as hiding himself in a cave or even buried as in a grave. This last element occurs, for instance, in a version of the story of David's repentance recorded by William Caxton in his edition in English of the *Golden Legend*. Caxton tells his readers that while on a journey in Flanders he heard from a knight, one Sir John Capons, counsellor to Duke Charles of Burgundy, the story he tells, that David had himself buried in the ground up to his neck as penance and that he composed Psalm 50 while

however, because this connection was made by the explanatory heading that appears with Psalm 50 in the Biblical sources. David's repentance of the sins for which he was reproached by Nathan, furthermore, seems to have been the only occasion ever cited as a reason for his composition of all the Penitential Psalms. See Huttar (footnote 3), p. 51, and also Owens (footnote 2), pp. 256–57.

buried in this way¹². A version of the same tale seems to have been the source for a series of historiated initials for the Penitential Psalms in a Book of Hours illuminated about 1240 by the English artist W. de Brailes. Three of these initials show David rebuked by Nathan, David buried in the ground up to his waist, and David holding a scroll. The meaning of the scroll is made clear by the inscription explaining the initial, which says “la cumenca les vii psaulmes” (“here [David] begins [writing] the Seven Psalms”)¹³.

The Boucicaut Master’s picture in the Boucicaut Hours, as well as miniatures of David in prayer in many other fifteenth-century Books of Hours, show David kneeling in a trench or just stepping out of a hole in the ground¹⁴; in at least one miniature, David is portrayed emerging from a grave, the stone cover of which has been set aside (fig. 6).

The tradition that David either was sequestered in a cave or was buried persisted at least into the sixteenth century. The cave/grave image is emphasized in a paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms by Pietro Aretino, *I setti salmi de la penitentia di David*, first published about 1534¹⁵. Aretino’s work is not simply a paraphrase of the psalm texts: rather, he connects his paraphrases of the psalms themselves with a series of seven narrative prologues and an epilogue that describe the events that occasioned David’s composition of the psalms and also the successive stages of David’s repentance as expressed in the seven psalms. In the prologue to the first psalm, Aretino says that David “retired himself into an obscure place under ground, as it were a prison of the sinne”¹⁶. He also refers to this place as a “cave”¹⁷, and later “the dungeon, or grott, wherein hee

12 Caxton’s edition of the *Golden Legend*, published by him (Westminster 1483), folio 70. The Biblical histories included by Caxton in his version of the *Golden Legend* are additions to Voragine’s original; in Caxton’s 1483 edition, the life of David is found on folios 68v–71v. The passage about David’s repentance is quoted and discussed by Huttar (footnote 3), p. 49.

13 London, British Library MS Add. 49999, folio 67v. The miniature is discussed in Sydney Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 24 (= *Roxburgh Club*). The miniatures in the De Brailes Hours are also discussed by Huttar (footnote 3), pp. 48–49. A similar picture of David appears in the initial for Psalm 101 in a Psalter illuminated by De Brailes, New College, Oxford, MS 322, folio 99: four rondels show Bathsheba watched by David as she baths in a stream, David before Nathan, David praying while buried up to the waist in the ground, and an image of God. See Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes*, plate 10, and commentary, p. 11.

14 Other examples that portray David in a trench or hole in the ground include miniatures found in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MSS W. 248 (folio 69), W. 281 (folio 119), and W. 741 (folio 68), and London, British Library MSS Add. 16997 (folio 90), Add. 18850 (folio 95), Add. 32454 (folio 59), Egerton 1070 (folio 44v), and Harley 2940 (folio 90). On Walters Art Gallery MS W. 276, see Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, volume 1, *France, 875–1420* (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 259–261; other volumes of this complete catalogue of Walters manuscripts—in which entries for books that are the sources of other figures discussed here are to appear—have not yet been published.

15 The earliest surviving edition apparently is *I Sett Salmi de la Penitentia di David Composti per Messer Pietro Aretino, ristampati nuovamente per Francesco Marcolini da Forlì* (Venice, 1536). The text of Aretino’s prologues (but not the epilogue to the seven psalms) is available in a modern source as part of the critical commentary in *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (Liverpool, 1969), pp. 356–390. (Aretino’s work served as a model and one of the sources for a verse paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms by Sir Thomas Wyatt, written ca. 1536–41). See also Huttar (footnote 3), pp. 47–48.

16 “Si auio in un luogo oscuro, che si staua sotterra come carcere del suo peccato.” (Prologue to the first psalm; Aretino, fols. B 1–1v; Muir and Thomson, pp. 358–359) Quotations in English are taken from the translation by John Hawkins, *Paraphrase upon the Seaven Penitential Psalms of the Kingly Prophet. Translated out of the Italian by I. H.* (Paris, 1635); this quotation is found in Hawkins’s translation on p. 4.

17 “lo speco” (also in the prologue to the first psalm, Aretino, fols. B 1–1v. See Muir and Thomson, p. 359; translation, Hawkins, p. 4).



Fig. 5

[i.e., David] was inclosed" (prologue to the third psalm)¹⁸, and again as a "caverne or grott" (prologue to the fourth psalm)¹⁹; in the prologue to the sixth psalm, Aretino describes David as "entombed, enterred alone, enclosed within the horrid darkness of the Cave, deploring his grievous transgressions"²⁰. Aretino ends his work with an epilogue to the seven psalms in which he describes David's feelings of comfort and his sense that he has been forgiven and says that David "suddenly raised himself from the ground"²¹ and that he "issued out of the tombe"²².

Another detail that is given significance in Aretino's narrative is David's neglect and use (in turn) of his harp. In the prologues to the psalms, Aretino has David, overcome with various emotions (fear, remorse, penitence, and so on), set aside his instrument only to pick it up again in order to express his feelings in the words of the psalm that follows²³.

Various elements emphasized by Aretino in his text are incorporated into the frontispiece to a seventeenth-century edition of *I setti psalmi* in English in which David is shown in prayer in a cave²⁴. David is depicted as an old man kneeling in the cave with his robe, scepter, crown, and another object on the ground; he plays harp and looks up and back over his shoulder toward rays of light. On the facing page "The Meaning of the Embleme" is explained in verses beginning "See grief's, true model, In this horrid Cave / Is Israel's Prince, as living in his grave. / Behold his Harpe that speaks his woe"²⁵.

Aretino's narrative, for the most part, does not add to late medieval ideas about David, but exploits images (David in a cave or tomb; David with his harp, scepter, and crown set aside; and so on) already familiar in the artistic traditions of the preceding century. The image of a cave, however, is much less common in pictures in Books of Hours than that of a hole in the ground that suggests a grave, at least in manuscripts produced in France and Flanders. I know of only a few such pictures, and the provenance of the manuscripts in which they occur, as well as Aretino's inclusion of this detail in his narrative, suggest that the notion of a cave as David's place of retreat may have been more widespread in Italy than in northern Europe²⁶.

18 "la spelunca dove era rinchiuso" (Aretino, fol. D 4; Muir and Thomson, p. 368; translation, Hawkins, p. 60).

19 "le [sic] spelunca" (Aretino, fol. F 3v; Muir and Thomson, p. 374; translation, Hawkins, p. 104).

20 "s'era sotterrato vivo ne le tenebre de la spelunca, plorando i suoi falli" (Aretino, fol. K 2v; Muir and Thompson, p. 384; translation, Hawkins, p. 195).

21 Aretino, fol. M 3; translation, Hawkins, p. 237.

22 Aretino, fol. M 3; translation, Hawkins, p. 238.

23 In the prologues to the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth psalms (Aretino, fols. B 1-1v, C 3, D 4, F 3v, and H 3v; Muir and Thomson, pp. 359, 364, 369, 373-374, and 379). David's instrument is referred to by Aretino as "*la cetera*", or in some passages as simply "*lo strumento*".

24 The Hawkins translation; see note 16. The image in the frontispiece is based in particular on Aretino's narrative in the prologue to the third psalm in which he describes rays of light entering the cave and David accompanying himself as he sings the psalm (see Aretino, fol. D 4; Muir and Thomson, p. 369).

25 On the title page is a picture of David in prayer that conforms to the image more usually found in Books of Hours: David kneels in a courtyard with his harp, crown, and scepter (?) on the ground, and an angel carrying two arrows, a sword, and a skull (?) appears to David.

26 David is shown praying at the entrance to a cave in a miniature in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 419 (folio 73), a Book of Hours produced in Italy (probably in Naples) ca. 1490, and in a cave in a picture in a Book of Hours made in northeastern Italy (probably Venice), ca. 1509, for Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, now in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva, Comites Latentes MS 51 (folio 1v; reproduced in *Hidden Friends: A Loan Exhibition of the Comites Latentes Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva* [London 1985], no. 35). A

Artistic traditions, too, played a part in the development of the new image of David in prayer. Depictions of various events from the life of David in early Bibles and other books served as sources for some of the elements in the miniatures of David in prayer. For the early fifteenth-century book painters, one established image undoubtedly was the most important influence: David with his harp (alone or surrounded by his four musicians) as he appeared in thirteenth-century Psalters and Bibles in miniatures, or more commonly, historiated initials, at the beginning of Psalm 1, "Beatus vir". In the *Beatus vir* initials, David, the author of the psalms, is portrayed tuning or playing his harp. The picture of David (or David and the four musicians) may take up all the space provided within the initial B, or this scene may occupy only the upper register of the letter, in which case David killing Goliath is the subject most often depicted in the lower register²⁷.

In the early Middle Ages, David as musician was probably the most prominent visual image of music or musicians, since David and his musicians were the standard frontispiece to Psalters²⁸. The less elaborate image of David presented in the *Beatus vir* initials appeared in the thirteenth century when Psalter decoration became somewhat simpler than it had been, a result of the adoption of a new program of Psalter illustration associated with the University of Paris²⁹. From then until the appearance of Books of Hours in substantial numbers about the end of the fourteenth century, the *Beatus vir* miniatures of David were the most common type of pictures with musical subject matter in illuminated manuscripts³⁰.

The connection and the similarity between the *Beatus vir* initials and the pictures of David in prayer—and both, after all, are author portraits that show David at the beginning of texts of the psalms—have not been overlooked by others³¹, but the element that sets the two images apart has not before been emphasized. In the *Beatus vir* initials, as in most other medieval images of David—including David in pictures of the Tree of Jesse, David and his four musicians in early Psalter frontispieces, and David leading the Israelites in procession with the Ark—David is shown either playing or tuning his instrument. In the miniatures of David in prayer, by contrast, David does not play, or even hold, his harp. Even so, the harp is an essential element in the iconography of the pictures of David in prayer. In these as in other pictures, the harp is David's attribute as the author of the psalms; shown cast aside, it serves to identify David's prayer as an act of repentance. On one level, the harp set aside suggests that David has turned away from earthly temptation (or withdrawn from society), since music, of course, often symbolized secular pleasure. Interpretation of the miniatures on yet another level follows symbolism attached to the image of David and his harp in the established artistic tradition. The *Beatus vir* miniatures of David tuning or playing his harp have been interpreted as a symbol of the

miniature by Jean Colombe in the *Très riches heures* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, folio 100v, reproduced in Jean Longnon, with Raymond Cazelles and Millard Meiss, *The Très riches heures of Jean, Duke de Berry* [New York 1969], plate 88) shows David praying in front of a cave in the miniature for Psalm 50 when it occurs in the Office of the Dead.

27 Genette Foster, *The Iconology of Musical Instruments and Musical Performance in Thirteenth-Century French Manuscript Illuminations* (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1977), p. 12.

28 On David in the earlier medieval tradition of psalter illustration, see Tilman Seebass, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Bern, 1973).

29 Foster (footnote 27), pp. 19, 39.

30 See the catalogue of pictures in Foster (footnote 27), pp. 119–236.

31 For instance, Leroquais (footnote 2), p. xlvii.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

harmony of the world, with the figure of David taken as a prefiguration of Christ³². In the Penitential Psalms miniatures, then, the fact that the harp is set aside may be taken to mean the disharmony of David's sinful state, an idea that seems to be reinforced by the presence of a large tuning key attached to the harp in some miniatures, like the miniature of David in prayer in the Boucicaut Hours³³.

Pictures of David in prayer began to appear in Books of Hours only about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Although the Penitential Psalms had appeared earlier in Breviaries and Psalters, there was no established tradition for the illumination of this text. In the earliest Books of Hours, the subject of miniatures for the Penitential Psalms was typically Christ in Majesty or the Last Judgement³⁴. In some early fifteenth-century Books of Hours, artists borrowed directly from Psalter illustration, adopting the familiar *Beatus vir* image of David playing harp as a miniature for the beginning of the Penitential Psalms³⁵. At about the same time, artists began using the new image of David in prayer.

The Boucicaut Master's miniature in the Boucicaut Hours, painted ca. 1405-1408, is an example of what was to become the standard image for the Penitential Psalms: David in prayer, with his harp set aside. I would like to suggest that this was, in fact, the earliest example of the image in this form. No earlier depiction of David in prayer includes the element of the harp cast aside³⁶; that is to say, no earlier examples in datable manuscripts are known to me, although I have examined more than 300 Books of Hours and pictures from at least as many again in catalogues and reproductions³⁷. This hypothesis, of course,

32 Foster (footnote 27), 16.

33 Harps with tuning keys occur, for instance, in pictures of David in prayer in the following Book of Hours: Walters Art Gallery MSS W. 226 and W. 287, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago MS 15.538 and Newberry Library MSS 42 and 52, and London, British Library MSS Add. 35312 and Egerton 2019.

34 Leroquais (footnote 2), pp. xlvii-xlviii; and Wieck (footnote 2), pp. 97-98. The Last Judgement remained a popular subject, especially in manuscripts from northern France and Flanders. See Delaisé (footnote 4), p. 210.

35 Examples are found, for instance, in the *Petites heures* of Jean de Berry (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 18014, folio 53 [the historiated initial; the main miniature on the same page is of Christ in Majesty], reproduced in Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* [New York, 1967], plate 99 [= *National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art*]) and in two early fifteenth-century Flemish Books of Hours, both in the Pierpont Morgan Library, MSS M. 866 (folio 79) and M. 349 (folio 126v).

36 A few examples of early pictures of David in prayer without a harp: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 323 (Lombardy, beginning of the fifteenth century, folio 99); the Brussels Hours (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11060-61, Paris, completed by ca. 1402, p. 131, reproduced in Meiss [footnote 35], plate 208); London, British Library MSS Add. 29433 (Paris, ca. 1406-1407, folio 89, initial, reproduced in Calkins [footnote 2], plate 147), Add. 32454 (Paris, ca. 1415, folio 59), and Egerton 1070 (Paris, ca. 1409-1410, folio 44v); and the *Belles heures* (New York, the Cloisters Museum of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Paris, ca. 1400-1410, folios 66 [Psalm 6] and 66v [Psalm 31], reproduced in Jean Porcher, ed., Porcher, ed., *Les belles heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* [Paris 1953], plates 39 and 40).

37 Manuscript sources included the Books of Hours in the collections of the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore), the Art Institute of Chicago, the Newberry Library (Chicago), and the University of Chicago Library as well as selected manuscripts in the British Library. (See Owens [footnote 2], pp. 356-560, for a catalogue of pictures with musical subjects from these manuscripts). Also consulted were Terence Ford and Andrew Green, *RIDIM/RCMI Inventory of Music Iconography, No. 3: The Pierpont Morgan Library Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (New York, 1988); Millard Meiss's three volumes on French manuscript painting (the two volumes cited in footnote 1 and footnote 35 and also his *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* [New York, 1974]); and other catalogues, monographs, and reproductions of individual manuscripts. This survey also produced a list of David pictures in manuscripts for which dating is not firmly established (i.e., manuscripts for which the only date suggested is "fifteenth century"). It is difficult to know if any of these might not have been produced before the

is one that can never be completely proven, yet the notion that the Boucicaut Master was the inventor of this new image is consistent with what we know about the Master's artistic personality, the nature of his commission, and the manuscript he produced.

In his study of the Boucicaut Hours and the work of the Boucicaut Master, Millard Meiss concludes that the Boucicaut Hours is the earliest significant work by the Boucicaut Master that we possess³⁸. It is, however, a work of the highest quality, in which almost all the miniatures are by the Master himself, probably painted, Meiss suggests, during a period of two or three years between about 1405 and 1408³⁹. The Master's style seems to have evolved as he worked on the manuscript; Meiss observes that some of the pages exhibit a mixture of "advanced" and "conservative" stylistic traits and that the Boucicaut Master seems even to have varied his style to suit the subjects he portrayed⁴⁰. The Boucicaut Hours is a particularly elaborately decorated manuscript; Meiss also points out that in this manuscript, as in other Books of Hours he painted, the Boucicaut Master introduced new details in his treatments of a number conventional picture subjects⁴¹. The addition of David's harp set aside to the picture of David in prayer is not one of the innovations named by Meiss, but it is comparable to those he discusses.

It is clear that the patron for whom the Boucicaut Hours was made, Jean le Meingre II (1368–1421), Marshal of France, called Boucicaut, desired an especially luxurious Book of Hours, perhaps in part as a means of enhancing his own prestige (the Marshal's arms and devices are unusually prominent in the manuscript)⁴². According to a biography written during the Marshal's lifetime, though, he was genuinely pious: his biographer records that every day, without fail, Boucicaut said his Hours and many prayers and suffrages, and that he heard two masses a day⁴³. We are told that the Marshal spent the better part of his mornings at services or prayers (taking about three hours), that he attended Vespers when he had no other engagement, and that he ended the day by "saying his service" before going to bed⁴⁴. There does not seem to be any particular evidence, however, that the Marshal had any special attachment to David or to the recitation of the Penitential Psalms. We can point, however, to two works from about the same time as the Boucicaut Hours (or slightly later) as evidence of the place of the Penitential Psalms as a devotional or spiritual text in Paris and in French Court circles at that time. These two works are Christine de Pisan's *Les sept psaumes allegorisés*, meditations on verses from the seven psalms, written between mid-1409 and the new year 1410, and the meditations on the Penitential Psalms of Pierre Cardinal d'Ailly, written perhaps about 1417⁴⁵. Ailly's work,

Boucicaut Hours, but none of these manuscripts is from the hand of an artist as prominent or influential as the Boucicaut Master.

38 Meiss (footnote 1), pp. 131–32.

39 Meiss (footnote 1), pp. 10–22 and also 131–132.

40 Meiss (footnote 1), pp. 21–22.

41 Meiss (footnote 1), pp. 27–33, 41.

42 Meiss (footnote 1), pp. 7, 9; Meiss points out that the Marshal's arms and personal devices appear an unusual number of times in the manuscript.

43 "Le livre des faits du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaut, Maréchal de France et Gouverneur de Gennevilliers", in: *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, ed. [J. F.] Michard and [J. J. F.] Poujoulat (Paris, 1836), series 1, volume 2, p. 318 (part 4, chapter 3). The "Livre des faits" is also available in several other modern editions.

44 *Idem*, p. 327 (part 4, chapter 11).

45 On Christian de Pisan's work, see Ruth Ringland Rains, ed. *Les sept psaumes allegorisés of Christian de Pisan: A Critical Edition from the Brussels and Paris Manuscripts* (Washington, D.C., 1965). The date for Ailly's *Meditationes* is supplied by Louis Salembier, *Le Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly* (Tourcoing, 1932).

in which he outlines seven steps of repentance, explaining the steps in reference to verses from the seven Penitential Psalms in order, was particularly influential and widely known⁴⁶. While neither of these works (even had they been written a few years earlier) would have suggested any particular visual images to the Boucicaut Master, they do suggest that the Penitential Psalms and the figure of David were subjects that would have attracted the interest of a pious man like Jean le Maingre.

The work of the Boucicaut Master is particularly important in the history of French book painting because his miniatures served as models for other artists at least until the middle of the century. The miniature of David in prayer was no exception: it was imitated by any number of other artists in their pictures of the same subject. (For but one example from among many, see *figure 7*, a miniature of David in prayer from a Book of Hours painted about 1415 by the Master of the Harvard Hannibal). In addition to the figure of David, the Boucicaut Master's design for David's harp is copied in the later pictures based on his design. The Boucicaut Master's harp is a particularly elegant instrument, somewhat larger than those depicted by some of his contemporaries; it is also remarkably detailed, showing individual strings, the pegs or pins to which they fasten, and a tuning key attached to the instrument with a cord. The attention the Boucicaut Master gave to the harp in his picture of David suggests that he attached importance to it and its presence in this scene, all the more so because he seems otherwise to have shown relatively little interest in depicting musical instruments.

New images evolve from established iconographic and artistic traditions: a subject changes as it is re-interpreted by different artists. These changes are usually gradual and cumulative, yet there is always the possibility that one artist may, through a single innovation, significantly affect the development of an image. This is what I think happened in the case of the Boucicaut Master and the picture of David in prayer, though, of course, we can never be absolutely sure. This new image grew out of earlier traditions of manuscript illumination. It is both unique and universal, making use of established imagery, yet offering a particular vision of the figure of David appropriate to the text with which the pictures were associated in the manuscripts. The new image of David emphasized not so much his kingly position—as did earlier pictures of him enthroned and surrounded by his four musicians, or tuning his harp—but the fallible, human side of David the penitent sinner. It was an image that fifteenth-century artists and their patrons seem to have found especially compelling for it remained a standard image throughout the century.

46 Huttar (footnote 3) discusses Ailly's work, pp. 53–54.

The Coordination of Text, Illustration, and Music in a Seventeenth-Century Lute Manuscript: *La Rhétorique des Dieux*

David J. Buch

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Introduction

The well-known manuscript, *La Rhétorique des Dieux*¹, presents us with unique evidence of mid-seventeenth-century culture in France through its intriguing coordination of words, music, and illustration. This sumptuous manuscript contains eleven lute suites

1 The manuscript is now located in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, MS 78C 12, (olim Hamilton 142), *La Rhétorique des Dieux*, in 4° obl., binding 22.5/23 × 18.3, block 21.5 × 17.2, 268 pages (vellum) with 12 paper pages inserted. The manuscript was known in the nineteenth century as the Hamilton Codex since it was part of the collection of the now defunct Hamilton

(made up of two unmeasured preludes and standard dance types of the period such as the pavane, allemande, gigue, courante, and sarabande) by Denis Gaultier (ca. 1600–1672)², grouped ostensibly according to some system of modality³. This is one of the earliest systematic orderings of lute suites by an individual composer. The manuscript is adorned with decorations by some well-known artists of the period, including eleven inkwash illustrations (originally twelve) of the modes by Abraham Bosse (1602–1676), a leading engraver of the century. The work also has a literary text consisting of an introduction that describes the contents of the book and two sonnets. There are emblematic commentaries of a mythological and allegorical nature as well, appended to some of Gaultier's pieces. These comment on the allegorical titles given to some of the pieces.

Although the manuscript received serious attention in the years 1885–1932⁴, it has not been re-evaluated in the light of more current scholarship until recently⁵. The literary aspects have never been analyzed and the decorations have received some incomplete treatment⁶. No attempt had been made to locate the sources for the imagery employed by the artists.

Here the various components of the *Rhétorique* are subjected to critical review, especially in the light of contemporary projects with similar elements. I will demonstrate shortly that the manuscript was planned and executed in separate (and in some cases, independent) stages by the contributors. Thus the organization of this study will logically facilitate the understanding of the rather complicated arrangement of the manuscript

Palace in London, until it was acquired by the Berlin State Museums (for details of this famous sale, see Helmut Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966). It was first mentioned by Mariette in the *Abecedario* of August 5, 1749. See Pierre Jean Mariette, *Abecedario de P. J. Mariette et autre notes* [...], ed. by Philippe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris, 1851–1860), vol. 3 (1854–56), p., 195. The manuscript was partially given in a pseudo-facsimile edition (whose modern transcriptions were based on other sources as well), by André Tessier, ed., *La Rhétorique des Dieux et autre pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier* (=Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, ser. 1, vols. 6, 7, Paris, 1931–32).

- 2 We know very little of Gaultier's life. No records survive of his birth or any professional employment or court position. Gaultier belonged to a family of lutenists active in Europe during the seventeenth century. The best summary of Gaultier's life and contributions is still Margarete Reimann, "Gaultier, Denis", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 4 (Kassel etc., 1955) cols. 1471–1478.
- 3 The suites are composed in a musical style that dates back to the third decade of the seventeenth century. For details on the musical style, see David J. Buch, "The Influence of the *Ballet de Cour* in the Genesis of the French Baroque Suite", in: *Acta Musicologica*, 57 (1985), pp. 94–109; *idem*, "Style brisé, Style luthé, and the *Choses luthées*", in: *The Musical Quarterly*, 71 (1985), pp. 52–67. A new critical edition of the *Rhétorique* with concordances, historical essays, and facsimile, edited by this author, is available as vol. 62, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, A-R Editions (Madison, Wisconsin, 1990).
- 4 The manuscript was first treated in Oskar Fleischer, "Denis Gaultier", in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1886), pp. 1–180. It was described in Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen, Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstich Kabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Leipzig 1931), pp. 238–239.
- 5 See David J. Buch, *La Rhétorique des Dieux: A Critical Study of Text, Illustration, and Musical Style* (Unpublished Ph. D. diss., Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University, 1983).
- 6 The contributions of these artists to the manuscript has been discussed in Jean Cordey, "La Rhétorique des Dieux et ses illustrations par Abraham Bosse, Robert Nanteuil et Eustache Le Sueur", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6/1 (1929), pp. 35–45, later revised and published in Tessier (footnote 1); Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Poussin et la musique", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 79 (1972), pp. 132–134; *idem*, *L'Iconographie musicale sous les Rois Bourbons: La musique dans les arts plastique (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 57–62. Bosse's work is the subject of Nicole Villa, *Le XVIIe Siècle vu par Abraham Bosse, Graveur de Roy* (Paris, 1967).

according to its aesthetic “program”, reflecting the probable order of its creation to some degree.

First, I will describe the content of the book and how I have derived the process by which it was created. Then the book will be assessed in the context of the literary and aesthetic tastes of the period with a review of the prose and poetry in the manuscript. The iconography will then be analyzed since the editor(s) and illustrator Bosse certainly planned the mode pictures together (these illustrations subdivide the book into twelve sections) in the earliest stages of the *Rhétorique*’s genesis. I will concentrate on the imagery and the representations of instruments, with reference to their likely sources. The next section will focus on the mode formulae inscribed in the pictures and the puzzling set of tablature formulae on paper pages. I will then discuss the moralistic-mythological commentaries. Finally, I will evaluate Gaultier’s pieces for any correspondence to text or illustration. Conclusions will center on overall aesthetic issues and the question of the coordination of the arts in this unusual project.

I

The *Rhétorique des Dieux* is one of the most beautifully adorned musical manuscripts of all time with an impressive list of substantial contributors. It was apparently rebound and its contents were slightly altered as well (the black leather binding and the shifting of the table of contents to the front of the book were both customary outside of France)⁷. At some point two prefatory portraits (of the patron, Anne de Chambré, and his wife) and the *Sous-Mixolydien* mode illustration were removed (the table of contents is now found in the place of the portraits).

The book’s cover is adorned with precious ornaments and clasps (their designs reflect themes in the text and illustrations) by Claude Ballin (1615–1678), future goldsmith to Louis XIV. The manuscript begins with a prose introduction, “Pour L’Intelligence des Livre de La Rhétorique des Dieux”, explaining the contents and purpose of the book and listing the contributors and their respective contributions. Three illustrations (see *figs. 1, 2, and 3*), two dedicatory “iconic” sonnets, and the table of contents make up the rest of the manuscript’s prefatory material.

7 For a history of the manuscript’s ownership, see Cordey in Tessier (footnote 6), pp. 9–10. The rebinding of the manuscript is confirmed in the *fleur-de-lis* pattern of the incomplete watermark found on the flyleaf at the end of the book. Since just the top of the watermark is present, we can only make a general identification for this very popular pattern used by Dutch paper makers. This particular design corresponds to those found during a period that dates from the later eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. For examples of these watermarks, see Edward Horwood, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae*, vol. 1. *Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1957), pp. 103–107, and plates 235–265.

The only other instance of a watermark is found on five of the manuscript’s twelve inserted paper pages that were provided to show twelve “mode” formulae in lute tablature (see the discussion below). This watermark is a *pot à une anse* pattern with two initials. Single-handle pots with initials are from French paper makers, specifically middle France, Touraine, or Normandie, and this particular one corresponds in many details to another found in a source from 1624. See Alexandre Nicolai, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France 1300–1800*, vol. 2 (Bordeaux, 1935), p. 89 and pl. cxiii, fig. 20. Only the letters B and C in the middle of the pot are reversed, a common variant. This early date confirms the supposition that these paper pages were inserted in the initial period of the manuscript when it was created as an encomium to Gaultier and a collection his lute music, rather than during the subsequent period, when the lute had passed out of fashion and the book had become an antiquarian object.

There are twelve sections for music in the main portion of the manuscript, articulated by the mode illustrations that inaugurate each section. The manuscript ends with an illustration of a small Mars with the coat-of-arms of Chambré (see *fig. 7*), and a final page that bears the monogram of Chambré—a design with two intertwining anchors (from the coat-of-arms) through his initials (see *fig. 8*). Table 1 provides these contents in a tabular format.

Table 1. Contents of the *Rhétorique*

<i>Collation</i>	<i>Content</i>
Binding	with ornaments by Claude Ballin
[13 pp.]	[blank]
1–3	Text: Introduction: <i>Pour l'intelligence du livre</i> .
4	Illustration: <i>Le Luth triomphant</i> [fig. 1]
[5]	[blank]
[6–7]	Text: Table of contents
8	Illustration: <i>Apollon dans le Ciel</i> [fig. 2]
9	[blank]
10	Text: <i>Sonnet</i> (by Harault)
11	[blank]
12	Text: <i>Sonnet au Livre</i> (by Gauquelin)
13–15	[blank]
16	Illustration: <i>Tiltre du Livre</i> [fig. 3]
17–19	[blank]
20	Illustration: <i>Mode Dorien</i> [fig. 9]
21	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
22–24	Empty staves
25–39	<i>Dorien</i> pieces (there is no p. 33)
40	[blank]
41	Illustration: <i>Sous Dorien</i> [fig. 10]
42	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
43–55	<i>Sous Dorien</i> pieces
56–59	Empty staves
60	[blank]
61	Illustration: <i>Mode Phrygien</i> [fig. 11]
62	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
63	Empty staves
64–75	<i>Phrygien</i> pieces with additional two pages of empty staves with the redundant page number 74 and 75
76–77	Empty staves
78	[blank]
79	Illustration: <i>Sous Phrygien</i> [fig. 12]
80	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
81–83	Empty staves
84–93	<i>Sous Phrygien</i> pieces (p. 89, empty staves)
94–97	Empty staves
98	[blank]
99	Illustration: <i>Mode Lydien</i> [fig. 13]
100	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
101–117	Empty staves
118	[blank]
119	Illustration: <i>Sous Lidien</i> [fig. 14]
120	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
121	Empty staves
122–135	<i>Sous Lydien</i> pieces (two consecutive pages are numbered 123, as are two numbered 130. Pp. 128, 131, empty staves)
136	[blank]
137	Illustration: <i>Mode Myxolydien</i> [fig. 15].

138	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
139	Empty staves
140–147	<i>Mixolydien</i> pieces
148–155	Empty staves
156	[blank]
157	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
158	[blank]
159	Empty staves
160–165	<i>Sous Mixolydien</i> pieces
166–174	Empty staves
175	Illustration: <i>Mode Aeolien</i> [fig. 16]
176	[blank]
177	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
178	[blank]
179	Empty staves
180–184	<i>Aeolien</i> pieces
185–195	Empty staves
196	[blank]
197	Illustration: <i>Sous Aeolien</i> [fig. 17]
198	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
199–205	<i>Sous Aeolien</i> pieces (pp. 200, 201, empty staves)
206–215	Empty staves
216	[blank]
217	Illustration: <i>Mode Ionien</i> [fig. 18]
218	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
219	Empty staves
220–235	<i>Ionien</i> pieces (pp. 225, 229, empty staves)
236	[blank]
237	Illustration: <i>Sous Ionien</i> [fig. 19]
238	[blank]
[added paper page]	Inserted leaf with <i>Accord</i> (tablature formula)
239	Empty staves
240–255	<i>Sous Ionien</i> pieces
256	[blank]
257	Illustration: <i>Mars sur les Armes du Sr. de Chambré</i> [fig. 7]
258	[blank]
259	Illustration: <i>Chiffres</i> [of Anne de Chambré] [fig. 8]
[13 pp.]	[blank, with irregular numbering]

Evidence of the process of the manuscript's creation can be derived from codicological examination. There are lapses in correspondence among the music, text, and illustrations suggesting that some of the efforts in creating the book were undertaken independently. For instance, there is no real (or seemingly intentional) relationship between the tonality of the lute pieces and the mode formulae depicted in the illustrations. This suggests that the book's layout and decoration pre-dated the copying of the music and were probably pursued independently. Further evidence of this is seen in the blank gatherings at the ends of the "modal" sections. Clearly there were a large number of empty, ruled tablature pages provided in each section for a projected collection of lute pieces. The lack of any music in the *Lydien* section, which has an illustration with a mode formula, empty ruled pages, and even a tablature formula on an added paper page, also is evidence of an independent process in the book's lay-out.

The writer of the introduction refers to details of the binding, poems, and pictures. This suggests that he (probably Chambré or an editor working under his supervision) and his artistic collaborators planned these elements together for a projected volume of Gaultier's pieces.

The choice of a "modal" format was probably decided without Gaultier's input, since the modes depicted are so contrary to his own keys. In fact, there is no indication that

Gaultier had any role in the creation of the text or the decorations. The only title Gaultier retains for his pieces from the *Rhétorique* that he later publishes is that of the first piece in the manuscript, “La Dédicasse”⁸. Thus he was certainly aware of the manuscript, but most likely as the honored dedicatee, and not as one of the initial planners. The mode format was probably selected for its venerable allusion to classical antiquity, apropos for the praise of “l’illustre Gaultier”.

The sonnets make no reference to specific musical pieces, although they refer to the drawings and binding. These were probably commissioned after the drawings were completed and the book assembled. They may have pre-dated the copying of the music as well. The commentaries inscribed beneath some of the tablatures refer to elements also found in the sonnets and the introduction. This suggests that the commentaries may be from the same author(s), certainly supervised by Chambré if not written by him. Relationships between the commentaries and the music are few, suggesting that the writer was more interested in linking Gaultier’s pieces to classical antiquity in the most general way, perhaps owing to his own lack of expertise in music. The prose material was certainly copied during the final stages of the manuscript’s creation, after the inclusion of the music.

The twelve paper pages with tablature “mode” formulae, were inserted after the decorations, music, and text were assembled. These probably represent the work of a lutenist who observed the inconsistency between the mode formulae and the keys of Gaultier’s suites. This issue will be addressed in detail later in this study.

II

Literary and Aesthetic Trends of the Time and the Project and Composition of the *Rhétorique*

Previous scholars have held the literary material of the *Rhétorique* in low esteem and have made little effort to relate this material to contemporary developments⁹. Much of this antipathy may stem from criticism of the literary style just after the period, beginning with the classicist Boileau (1636–1711)¹⁰. Molière’s (1622–1665) characterization of the *précieuse* style (a term of derision by this time) lent itself to a long tradition of ridicule¹¹. Twentieth-century authors have re-evaluated this literature on its own terms—a rich and diversified *salon* style that was replaced by the classicism of the era of Louis XIV¹².

8 Denis Gaultier, *Livre de tablature des pièces de luth de Mr. Gaultier Sr. de Nèves et de Mr. Gaultier son cousin* (Paris, 1672), pp. 42–43.

9 For these derisive accounts see Michel Brenet [i.e., Marie Bobillier], “Les Tombeaux en musique”, in: *La Revue musicale*, 13 (1903), p. 573; *idem*, “Notes sur l’histoire du luth en France”, in *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 6 (1899), pp. 32–33; Lionel de la Laurencie, *Les Luthistes* (Paris, 1928), p. 107.

10 Nicolas Boileau-Despeaux, *L’Art poétique* (Paris, 1647).

11 Molière [Jean Baptiste Poquelin], *Les Précieuses ridicules* (Paris, 1660). The first performance was November 18, 1659. The work is a pointed satire on aspiring young social climbers of the middle class and their affectation of *salon* manners and mannerisms.

12 The society of the *salon* combined the nobility with ennobled *bourgeoisie*, artists, poets, musicians, and literati. Marked by a careful attention to detail in language, various styles were cultivated. Themes of sensitivity and love arose as women came to take important roles as artists and patrons. The male ideal, called the *honnête homme*, was personified by an aristocratic gentleman of modest talent and education, whose good taste was as effortlessly achieved as his social demeanor. We also note a relaxation of earlier intense imagery of the metaphysical school of poets and artists, whose visions of morbidity, doubt,

We can not be sure of the authorship of the *Rhétorique*'s text, but we have assumed that Anne de Chambré either supervised or wrote the text himself. The poets who wrote the two sonnets (Gauquelin and Harault) cannot be identified today.

Our information about Anne de Chambré of Rue de Cléry is scanty. He was in the service of M. le Prince Condé as his treasurer of war and he probably figured prominently in the political events of the *Fronde*. Chambré surrounded himself with a group of artists and musicians. A painting of this little "male *salon*" survives today¹³. At least three of the figures depicted in this painting, Gaultier, Chambré, and Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55), helped to produce the *Rhétorique*.

For whom was the manuscript created? Was there an intended audience? As a collection of lute pieces it appears to be intended for a student of Gaultier, perhaps Anne de Chambré or his daughter (pictured with Gaultier in one of the prefatory illustrations; see fig. 2). However, the introduction informs us that the manuscript's non-musical materials are intended "pour L'Intelligence de ceux qui n'ont pas une entière connaissance de la musique". Perhaps then the art and literary materials were provided for the non-musical amateurs of this little *salon* who possessed an appreciation of art, literature, and allegory. This kind of appreciation is regarded as inferior to the perception of the music, which is described as the highest form of rhetoric in the manuscript's introduction. Thus music is advanced as superior to oratory in conveying ideas. This elevates music above the liberal arts, as stated in the second sonnet. This connection of music to oratory (suggested as well by the title of the book) is not surprising. The rhetorical function is the common thread linking the arts in the theory and practice of this era¹⁴.

Anthony Blunt has suggested that the art of book illustration is perhaps the outstanding means of visual expression for the *précieux*¹⁵. Vellum manuscripts are especially favored in this period as well. Similar contemporary books represent characters, passions, and moral virtues (often with illustrations and poems in praise of works of art—called iconic poems today)¹⁶. The most celebrated manuscript of this period has been cited as a precedent for the *Rhétorique* by André Tessier¹⁷. Produced in 1641 by members of the most influential *salon précieux* at the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, the *Guirlande de Julie* is a collection of handwritten poems on vellum pages in praise of various flowers, with illustrations of the flowers by Nicolas Robert (1614–1685) and calligraphy by Nicolas

and *vanitas* dominated the artistic production of the late 16th century. Writers in our own century who have contributed to a more balanced view of this period include Jean Rousset, *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France: Circe et le Paon* (Paris, 1953); Odette de Mourgues, *Metaphysical, Baroque and Précieux Poetry* (London, 1961); René Bray, *La Préciosité et les précieuses* [...] (Paris, 1948).

13 This painting is reproduced and discussed in Cordey's article in Tessier (footnote 1), facing p. 8. The identification of this portrait and of Chambré as the patron date back to the historian of the *Académie*, Guillet de Saint-Georges. For this account see Louis Dussieux, et al., *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages de membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 170–171.

14 For discussions of the arts and theory in this period see H. James Jensen, *The Muses' Concord: Literature, Music and the Visual Arts in the Baroque Age* (Bloomington, 1976); Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago, 1958); Margaret M. McGowan, *L'Art de ballet de cour en France: 1581–1643* (Paris, 1963).

15 For details see Anthony Blunt, "Les Précieux and French Art", in: Fritz Saxl (1890–1948): *A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England* (London, 1957), pp. 328–333.

16 See Hagstrum (footnote 14), pp. 18–36.

17 See Tessier (footnote 1), p. 28.

Jarry (1620–1674)¹⁸. The work was inspired by the hopeful suitor of the daughter of Mlle. de Rambouillet (Julie D'Angennes), Charles de Sainte-Maure, future Duc de Montausier. The contributing poets were the luminaries of the first half of the seventeenth century—Talleyrand des Réaux, Chapelain, Scudéry, Montausier himself and Julie's father, among others. This most luxurious gift did not sway the lady. Montausier had to agree to her terms—he turned Catholic and he waited (it was not until 1654 that she married him).

Like the *Rhétorique*, the *Guirlande de Julie* is a collective work by literary and visual artists. It also has a loose, common theme—the praise of an individual who is likened to a deity. And the materials are almost identical. The fact that the *le Grand Condé* was a member of this circle¹⁹ suggests the possibility that his treasurer, Chambré, may have been acquainted with the *Guirlande* through one of its many copies.

Other significant works that recall the aesthetic context of the *Rhétorique* include Italian and French collections depicting paintings in a real or imaginary gallery, offering both prose and iconic poetry. Giambattista Marino's *La galerie*²⁰ began a tradition of iconic poetry that was widely imitated, especially in France. *Le Cabinet de M. de Scudéry* of 1646 offered a kind of French imitation of Marino's book with prose and poetic descriptions of George de Scudéry's ideal picture gallery²¹.

Pierre le Moyne's *Les Peintures morales*²² represents the passions and moral virtues (important themes in the *Rhétorique*) in four different manners. A specific character would be treated in scholastic argumentation, then illustrated by an engraving, then provided with an iconic poem describing the engraving (similar in function to the sonnets in the *Rhétorique*), and finally given a *caractère*²³.

The commentaries written below the lute pieces in the *Rhétorique* recall similar commentary below engravings in books of emblems, so popular in the period as sources for imagery. In fact, one of these emblem books provided the imagery used by Le Sueur in his contribution to the *Rhétorique*, as will be seen later.

This literary context in fact reveals that many of the titles for musical works in the *Rhétorique* are borrowed from contemporary and classical poetic or rhetorical genres. Table 2 lists these titles. The *Consolation*, *Dédicasse*, *Resolution*, *Panégirique*, *Pastorale*, *Oraison funèbre*, and *Tombeau* are all literary or oratorical forms²⁴.

18 For literature on this manuscript see C. Gabillot, La "Guirlande de Julie", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 11 (1914), pp. 349–363; Adolphe van Bever, *La Guirlande de Julie augmentée de pièces nouvelles [...]* (Paris 1907). The manuscript survives in private ownership as well as numerous copies (two by Jarry) and later printed editions.

19 For information of M. le Prince Condé see Georges Mongrédien, *Le Grand Condé* (Paris, 1959).

20 Giambattista Marino, *La galerie del cavalier Marino. Distinta in pittura, & sculture* (Venice, 1620).

21 Georges de Scudéry, *Le cabinet de Mr. de Scudéry [...]* (Paris, 1646).

22 Pierre le Moyne, *Les Peintures morales [...]* (Paris, 1640).

23 See Hagstrum (footnote 14), pp. 104–106.

24 Examples of these genres can be found in André Lagarde and Laurent Michard, *XVIIe Siècle: les grands auteurs française du programme*, (Paris, 1964), (= *Collection textes et littérature*, 3), pp., 19, 273, 279. For a discussion of the *Tombeau* in literature see Rousset (footnote 12), pp. 90–94. A poetic *Resolution* is found in Nicolas Vauquelin, *Oeuvres complètes [...]*, ed. by Georges Mongrédien (Geneva, 1967). The *Consolation* refers to an ancient rhetorical genre used by Seneca and revived by seventeenth-century writers (see Lagarde and Michard, p. 19). Pastorals, both as poetic and dramatic genres, are well known and need not be cited here.

Table 2. Titled Pieces in the *Rhétorique*

I.	Mode Dorien La Dédicasse Phaëton foudroyé Le Panégyrique Minerve Ulysse	VII.	Mode Mixolydien Appolon Orateur Diane au bois
II.	Mode Sous-Dorien Andromède Diane La Coquette virtuosa Atalante	VIII.	Mode Sous-Mixolydien La Caressante
III.	Mode Phrygien Tombeau de Mlle. Gaultier Mars superbe Cleopatre Amante	IX.	Mode Aeolien Circé Céphale
IV.	Mode Sous-Phrygien Artemise, ou L'Oraison funèbre Le Triomphe	X.	Mode Sous-Aeolien L'Heroique
V.	Mode Lydien (No Music)	XI.	Mode Ionien Orphée Echo L'Homicide La Gaillarde
VI.	Mode Sous-Lydien (No titled pieces)	XII.	Mode Sous-Ionien La Pastoralle Narcisse Junon, ou la Jalouse Tombeau de Monsr. de Lenclos La Consolation aux amis de Sr. Lenclos La Resolution des amis du Sr. Lenclos sur sa mort

Perhaps the most significant analogy can be made between the *Rhétorique* and the most popular “multi-media” productions of the day, the *ballets de cour*. The literary text strongly resembles a *vers* (an explanatory program distributed to the audience) for a contemporary ballet. We recognize certain “stock” scenes from the ballet, e.g., the triumphal march and the pastoral scene. The high moral tone and the mythological and historical characters (from antiquity) are also basic material, gleaned from published emblem manuals of the time²⁵. Many *vers* have explanatory introductions, sonnets, and descriptive paragraphs for the various *entrées*, as does the *Rhétorique*²⁶. Gaultier’s dances themselves are part and parcel of stock ballet dances²⁷. It would appear that the ballet was the significant force in elevating the dance as a rhetorical art in France, although the basis for this elevation dates back to the humanist academies of the 16th century²⁸. The style

25 Cited in McGowan, (footnote 14), p. 26: Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (Basel 1548); Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini con la spositione* (Venice 1566, transl. into French by A. du Verdier, Tourdon, 1606–1607); Natali Conti, *Mythologia* (1581, transl. into French by J. de Montlyard, Lyon, 1604); Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome 1593, transl. into French by Jean Baudouin with illustrations by Jacques de Bie, Paris, 1636). This last work, famous throughout Europe, was the main source for the imagery in Le Sueur’s designs for the *Rhétorique*. See the section on iconography for details.

26 The largest published collection of *vers* for the ballets is Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour de Henri III à Louis XIV* (Geneva, 1868), 6 vols. Like the *Rhétorique*, *vers* often have prefatory sonnets (see Lacroix, 2, p. 290; 4, p. 17; 6, p. 178 for examples). *Vers* often begin with an introduction that directs “remarks” aux curieux, just as the *Rhétorique* (see Lacroix, 4, pp. 124–5, 175; 6, p., 194). Lully also prints a similar introduction for the *vers* to *Alcidiane* (1658). See Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Oeuvres completes* [...], 3: *Les Ballets* (Paris, 1933), p. 4 of the *vers*.

27 On the relationship between the musical styles of the ballet and the lute repertory, see Buch, “The Influence” (footnote 3).

28 For details see Francis A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947), pp. 36–94; McGowan (footnote 14), pp. 11–17.

and form of the ballet seem to have lent shape and a sense of proportion to both poetry and to the emerging instrumental dance suite of the baroque period²⁹.

Principles in the ballet that govern the confluence of the arts, namely the preference for allegory over imitation as the aesthetic *raison d'être*, are to be found in contemporary painting as well as in works like the *Rhétorique*³⁰. Allegorical characters drawn from the emblem books display what is universal in nature, surpassing “mere representation”³¹. Historical and mythological characters often represent real people (as Apollo represents Gaultier in the sonnets) in an allegorical lesson. Some of the characters in the *Rhétorique* may in fact represent real people, as was the fashion in the *précieuse* style³².

Ballets, like other art forms of the century, use historical and mythological characters to instruct in a moral lesson—the universal application of allegory, and readily available in the emblem literature of the day³³. While there are obvious moral lessons in the *Rhétorique*'s commentaries (these will be discussed later), specific allegorical references to contemporary political events must remain speculative. For instance, the manuscript is dated from the period of the *Fronde* (the Parisian civil war of mid-century)³⁴, and one might be tempted to see the central figure in the conflict, Condé, as “Mars Superbe”, or “L'Héroïque”.

In 1651 Abraham Bosse, the chief illustrator of the *Rhétorique*, produced an illustration entitled *David with a Sling* (Sling = *fronde*) in support of the aristocrats represented by Condé. The *Rhétorique des Dieux* might be considered a document of the early idealistic days of the *Fronde*, at the height of the *salon* society, when a less fearful and war-torn Paris praised the conquests of *le Grand Condé*, and engaged in the witty and lively play of language that marks the *précieuse* style. The idealistic and allegorical view toward classical themes represents, on the one hand, an escape from the imminent conflict in Paris and, on the other hand, a last attempt by the aristocracy to assert itself in the artistic arena (as it will do in the political arena) in the face of an ever more centralized and absolute monarchy. In a sense the *Rhétorique* is one of the last artistic expressions of an independent and assertive aristocratic class.

The Introduction

The introduction in the manuscript, entitled “Pour L'intelligence du livre de La Rhétorique des Dieux”, first states the purpose of the book: “de faire un assemblage des plus

29 For a discussion of the dance suite see Buch, “The Influence” (footnote 3). For a discussion of the ballet's effect on the shape of contemporary poetic form, see William Roberts, “Beyond the Frame: Saint-Amant's Mixing of Poetry, Painting and Ballet”, in: *French Literature and the Arts*, 5 (1978), pp. 81–93.

30 See McGowan (footnote 14), pp. 11–47. A simple imitation of nature seems to have been regarded as crass and unfitting for high art. Allegory is far more appealing to contemporary artists, writers, and dancers. Thus we never find a contemporary aristocrat acting as himself in a ballet or even represented literally. Rather he will be represented by a mythological or historical figure. The King is often represented as Jupiter (McGowan, pp. 46, 58), the Queen (Marie de Medici) as Juno (McGowan, p. 86) and various aristocrats appear as gods from antiquity (see Lacroix [footnote 26], 6, pp. 33–36).

31 In the “Suite pour les Peintures”, from the *Grand ballet des effets de la nature* (see Lacroix [footnote 26], 1, p. 234), we are told that “l'Art passe la nature”.

32 For examples of these assumed mythological and historic names, see Legarde and Michard (footnote 24), pp. 55–75.

33 On emblem books, see especially Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967).

34 The *Rhétorique* has been dated ca. 1652, based on the death date of Eustache Le Sueur (1655).

belles pièces de luth de l'illustre Denis Gaultier", praised because "il represent très parfaitement la nature des passions; et qu'il élève les Esprits les plus abbaïsez aux plus sublimes vertus". The book's title is then explained: "Cette façon de s'exprimer peut à bon droit se nommer *La Rhétorique des Dieux*, d'autant que l'Entendement humain ne peut concevoir de langage plus éloquent". The power of rhetoric to move the passions is thus invoked and Gaultier's music is seen as the highest form of this "oratory".

Then the contributors are cited according to their contributions. Ballin's cover ornaments are described in detail, probably because they participate in the allegorical themes found in the commentaries, the sonnets, and the illustrations. These ornaments consist of Chambré's initials framed by four different musicians, Mercury's caduceus (Mercury is the god of eloquence and his caduceus was said to have the power to heal and raise the dead—a power that is an essential theme in the book), Apollo's lyre (Apollo is associated with Gaultier; and the lyre was considered an ancient lute), and the cornucopia (the horn-of-plenty was a symbol of magnanimity, an important virtue presented in the commentaries). The inside corner engraving is credited to one Ferrier. Abraham Bosse is cited as the creator of the prefatory drawing of the thrice-crowned lute (see *fig. 1*), Robert Nanteuil (1623–1678) is credited with the portraits and the execution of the design by Le Sueur of Apollo and Minerva (see *fig. 2*), and Bosse is said to have executed another Le Sueur design that serves as the title page (see *fig. 3*).

The author then goes on to describe Bosse's twelve mode illustrations:

Tout cecy est suivy de douze desseins de Sieur Bosse executez par luy-mesme, qui representent les douze Modes, dont les noms sont: le Dorien ou Dorique, le Sous-dorien, le Frigien, Sous-frigien, le Lidien, Sous-lidien, Mixolidien, Sous-mixolidien, l'Eolien, Sous-eolien, le Ionien, le Sous ionien, et comme chacun de ces modes est propre à exciter certaines passions, et qu'ils sont propres a certains chants, l'on a représenté dans chacun les actions que le mode fait naistre, les Instruments tant anciens que modernes qui luy sont plus convenables, et mesmes l'on a observé d'y faire l'Architecture conforme à ces modes, en chacun desquels se trouve sur tout un Luth avec un Livre ouvert où le mode est notté.

Most interesting here is the relating of the architectural orders, musical instruments, and passions to specific modes. We will pursue these notions in detail.

Bosse is then cited as the creator of the small Mars at the end of the manuscript. Finally, the calligraphers Damoiselet and Belluchau (unknown today) are named along with their contributions. No mention is made of the copyists (there are two handwritings in the tablature) of the music.

The introduction alludes to the characters found in the illustrations, many of which are derived from the emblem literature. "L'Amour de la vertu", represented in Le Sueur's design of Apollo and Minerva, is one of several characters drawn from the Jean Baudouin's French translation of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*³⁵. It appears that the imagery of the Muses was also taken from this source (see details in the section on iconography).

35 For this study I used a facsimile reprint of the Parisian edition of 1644: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Paris, 1644); (= *Renaissance of the Gods*, 29, New York, 1976).

The Sonnets

The two sonnets in the *Rhétorique* are both Petrarchian, with Alexandrine lines, embraced rhymes in the quatrains, and *caesurae*. The first poem is addressed to the reader while the second speaks to the book. Both are iconic poems, i.e., poems describing (or in praise of) a work of art. Dedicatory sonnets are commonly found at the beginning of both musical and nonmusical works in this period. We also find them in the *vers* for *ballets de cour*³⁶.

Sonnet

Admire en ces portraits l'effect de la Peinture
Qui d'un simple crayon sans couleurs ny sans fard
Represente a nos yeux ces chefs d'oeuvres de l'art
Accomplis de tout point comme fit la Nature.

Admire le relief de cette couverture
Est-il rien de plus beau, plus riche et plus mignard
Le Dieux en ce travail prirent chacun leur part
Lors qu'Appolon voulut faire sa tablature.

Mais depuis attiré par l'air harmonieux
Du Luth de cette Nymphé, il descendit des Cieux
Empruntant De Gaultier l'habit et le visage.

Il luy monstre à pincer de cent belles façons
Et pour éterniser ses divines Leçons
Consacre a son honneur ce précieux ouvrage.

Harault

Sonnet

au Livre

Ouvrage nompareil d'admirable structure
Tu parois à nos yeux un volume enchanté
Car les Arts-libéraux ne t'ont poiunt enfanté
Puis que nous n'avons rien d'égal dans la Nature.

Que de sçavans concerts de docte tablature
Comme jamais dessein ne fut mieux inventé
L'on ne void rien aussi de mieux représenté
Ton ancre de la Chine efface la peinture.

L'Homme n'a peu produire un oeuvre si parfait
C'est Phoebus qui lasse de l'effort quil a fait
S'en va se reposer sur sein d'Uranie.

36 For examples see Lacroix (footnote 26), 2, p. 290; 4, pp. 71, 106; 6, p. 178.

Il a pourtant cherché douze Modes en vain
Il ne faut pour unir toute la Simphonie
Que l'illustre Gaultier et son Luth à la main.

Gauquelin

The first sonnet uses the word *fard* (here a pejorative term meaning an artificial and cosmetic use of color or make-up)³⁷, implying a preference for the *disegno*, or the underlying design, over that of the sensual nature of color—a concept or pure idea (Neoplatonic) over that of the obvious and vulgar nature of color³⁸. This is precisely the controversy that will occupy the French Academy beginning in the next decade—the Poussinist-Rubinstein controversy. The author implies that the depictions of the *Rhétorique* are actually re-creations made by the artist from purely abstract “œuvres de l’art”,—the Neoplatonic idea that the artist reproduces perfect forms of an abstract art that is independent of its representation in the real world. This notion is consistent with the execution of one artist’s design (Le Sueur) by the hand of another (Nanteuil or Bosse) as we find in the *Rhétorique*. The designs then are “pure forms” commonly available to several artists who can collaborate through one artist’s execution of another artist’s design.

Aristotle’s theory of art as imitation is put forward in line four of the first sonnet. The first six lines describe the book while the remainder of the poem relates Gaultier to the gods of pagan antiquity. A “*nymph*” is mentioned—perhaps Anne de Chambré, the daughter of the patron who commissioned the work, and possibly a student of Gaultier³⁹. Themes of metamorphosis and the power of art (a rhetorical/musical power) to immortalize are presented here. These will be further amplified in the commentaries.

The strong similarity between the two sonnets is noteworthy. The last word of the first sonnet, *ouvrage*, is the first word of the next sonnet. The word *admirable* in the second sonnet repeats the word *admire* of the first sonnet in a prominent manner. Both poems have the same outside rhymes in their quatrains, using the same word, *nature*, to close the opening quatrain. The similarity of conceits further confirms a close relationship.

In fact, the sonnets are based on the celebrated sonnet of François Malherbe (1555–1628), *Beaux et grands bastimens d’éternelle structure*⁴⁰:

Beaux et grands bastimens d’éternelle structure,
Superbes de matière et d’ouvrages divers,
Où le plus digne Roy qui soit en l’Univers
Aux miracles de l’Art fait céder la Nature;

37 In Charleval’s “Epigramme” 71, the poet tells artificial coquettes “Otez leur le fard et le vice, Vous leur ôtez l’âme et le corps”. Cited in Raymond Picard, ed., *La Poésie française de 1640 à 1680* (Paris, 1969), 1, p. 196.

38 For details on the concept of *disegno*, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, transl. by Joseph Peake (New York, 1968).

39 First suggested by Brenet, “Notes” (footnote 9), p. 32.

40 François de Malherbe, *Oeuvres poétiques* [...], ed. by René Fromilhague and Raymond Lebègue (Paris, 1968), 2, p. 54.

Beau parc, et beaux jardins, qui dans vostre closture
Avez toujours des fleurs et des ombrages vers,
Non sans quelque Demon qui deffend auz hyvers
D'en effacer jamais l'agréable peinture;

Lieux qui donnez aux coeurs tant d'aimables désirs,
Bois, fontaines, canaux, si parmy vos plaisirs
Mon humeur est chagrine, et mon visage triste:

Ce n'est point qu'en effet vous n'avez des appas,
Mais, quoy que vous ayex, vous n'avez point Caliste,
Et moy je ne voy rien quand je ne la voy pas.

Malherbe's poem provides the rhyme scheme and final words for some lines. In addition, there are similarities in the outside quatrains.

The use of a model to generate further poems is commonly practiced in this era⁴¹ and again suggests the Neoplatonic, imitative principle in art. Ideas, as well as structural elements, are borrowed from the model. We again encounter the notion of art surpassing nature in its imitation of it. Nature is in fact "effaced" by its own image, as the *Rhétorique*'s second sonnet suggests.

The erotic allusion to the muse of astronomy and light, Urania, recalls the contemporary controversy surrounding the celebrated sonnet of Vincent Voiture (1597–1648), poet laureate of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, *Uranie*⁴², which utilizes a similar conceit (an admirer who perishes through love) to that which we find in the commentary to "L'Homicide".

The seventh line of the second sonnet offers what may be an intentional misspelling of the word *encre* (Chinese ink). *Ancre* actually means anchor, perhaps a reference to the anchors in the Chambré coat-of-arms that is prominently illustrated at the beginning and end of the book (see *figs.* 7, and 8).

I want to reserve my discussion of the literary themes in the commentaries until after the iconography and mode issues have been reviewed, since the commentaries were supplied only after the music and art, and they comment on themes that relate to these aspects. This order in the present study will facilitate a better view of the work as a whole especially in regard to the degree of unity (or the lack thereof).

III

Iconography in the *Rhétorique*

Unlike the literary material, the decorations in the *Rhétorique* have received some attention⁴³. However, this commentary has lacked a critical analysis of the imagery and its sources, as well as an explanation of its relationship to music and text. The visual symbols have yet to be explained and the question of mode concepts has only been touched upon briefly. No iconographic source for the imagery has yet been identified.

41 At least twenty-five sonnets were written on a single subject (the death of a parrot) with the same rhyme scheme. See Lagarde and Michard (footnote 24), p. 60.

42 For details see the sonnet and a discussion of its significance *ibidem*, pp. 63, 66.

43 See footnote 6.

The decorative style in the manuscript (cover ornaments, backgrounds in illustrations, the final monogram, in *fig. 8*, etc.) employs a baroque formal language based on Roman architecture filtered through the interpretation of the Renaissance tradition and transmitted to French classicism. Triangular compositions dominate as we see in Le Sueur's title page design and in Bosse's illustrations of modes III, IV, V, VI, X, and XII, as well as Bosse's concluding illustration of a *putto* in the guise of Mars (see *figs. 3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19*). Le Sueur's reliance on Baudouin's French translation of Ripa's *Iconologie*, with illustrations by Jacques de Bie, has already been mentioned and will be explored further.

Some of the *Rhétorique's* imagery is common to the title pages of earlier lute collections, e.g., Apollo, Mercury, the Muses, the caduceus, and of course, various musical instruments, ancient and modern⁴⁴. However, the *Rhétorique* is unusual in the degree to which these images are explored in words and in design.

Mercury and his caduceus are illustrated in Le Sueur's title page as well as in the ornaments for the corners of the book's cover. Mercury appears on the cover ornaments along with the Chambré coat of arms. The caduceus symbolizes eloquence⁴⁵ and rebirth through rhetoric⁴⁶. This ties in with Gaultier's powers as stated in the inscriptions and sonnets—an orator capable of bringing life to the inanimate. Even the work of the goldsmith comes to be employed in the cause of allegory. The virtue of magnanimity, said to be the highest moral value by the writer of the commentaries, is probably drawn from Aristotle's *Ethics*⁴⁷. This is represented on the cover of the book with the horn of plenty in the corner ornaments⁴⁸. The commentary to "L'Héroïque" alludes to this virtue as does "La Coquette virtuosa".

Putti are favored in abundance in the ornaments and illustrations. Sometimes they are in clearly recognizable guises—Mars, Venus, Hymen, Cupid, and Psyche, to name a few. *Putti* wings have special symbolic meaning dating back to antiquity⁴⁹. The eyed butterfly wings symbolize the rebirth of the soul touched by divine love (the metamorphosis of the caterpillar, chrysalis, and butterfly), marriage, Psyche, or merely the immortal soul, as distinct from material associations. Abraham Bosse used the *putto* with butterfly wings to conclude his book on geometric design⁵⁰. The bird wings are symbolic of angels and other divine spirits.

We have already mentioned Blunt's suggestion that the art of book illustration is the most significant means of visual expression for the *précieux*⁵¹. The fifteen surviving inkwash illustrations from the *Rhetorique* were executed by artists, famous for their drawings and engravings (Abraham Bosse and Robert Nanteuil, often in books.

44 For examples of title pages, see Nicolas Valet, *Le Secret des muses* (1615, 1616), edited by André Souris and Monique Rollin (Paris, 1970), pl. 1; Antoine Francisque, *Le Trésor d'Orphée, livre de tablature de luth contenant une Susane un jour plusieurs fantaisies preludes passemaises [...]* (Paris, 1600; facsimile reprint, Geneva, 1973).

45 See Ripa (footnote 35), 1, p. 105.

46 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 72.

47 For a study of the French dissemination of Ethics, see Maistre Nicole Oresme *Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote*, ed. by Albert D. Menut (New York, 1940).

48 See Ripa (footnote 35), 2, p. 132.

49 For detailed discussions of this symbol, see Karl August Böttiger, *Ideen zur Kunstmythologie*, ed. by Julius Sillig (Dresden/Leipzig, 1836), 2, pp. 422–472; Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, "Psyche et le Papillon", in: *L'Oeil: Revue d'art mensuelle*, 186 (1968), pp. 2–11.

50 Abraham Bosse, *Représentations geometrales [...]* (Paris, 1687), p. 13.

51 See footnote 15.

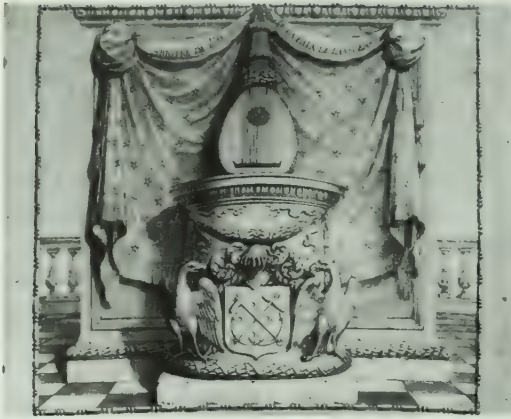


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

The Prefatory and Concluding Illustrations

The first and last illustrations in the manuscript are by Bosse exclusively (see *figs. 1, 3, 7* and their placement in the manuscript in Table 1). The first is titled *Le Luth triomphant* in the table of contents. It praises the lute as the “arbitre de l’amour de la paix de la guerre”—derived no doubt from the famous accounts of the lute’s ancient power to impassion, excite, and restrain its auditors⁵². The drawing shows wreaths of myrtle, olive, and laurel—symbols of Minerva or Venus, peace, and victory, respectively—adorning the neck of a lute. Rectilinear drapery (also used by Bosse for his Ionian illustration) and Roman eagles embellish a pedestal above the Chambré coat of arms. This scene is presented in foreshortened perspective from below, a subtle means of suggesting praise in assuming a humble position by the spectator.

The introduction in the manuscript indicates that portraits of Chambré and his wife were to come directly after the first illustration. These portraits are today missing. The circumstances surrounding the removal of this illustration, as well as the drawing for the *Mixolydien* mode, are unknown.

The next illustration (*fig. 2*), titled “Apollo in the Heavens and Portraits” in the table of contents, was designed by Le Sueur and executed by Nanteuil. Since Nanteuil specialized in portraiture (unlike Le Sueur and Bosse) the portraits are probably his work exclusively. These are portraits of Gaultier and Chambré’s daughter, also named Anne. The depiction of two pre-existent and “heavenly” portraits (the sonnet declares that Gaultier is Apollo and may have identified the girl with a “*nymph*”) within a mortal work of art is another manifestation of the Neoplatonic—art depicting art. Other illustrations show sculpture, architecture, tapestries, and musical performance. This illustration of Apollo and Minerva in heaven recalls Le Sueur’s painting *L’Amour recevant l’hommage des Dieux*⁵³. This scene is also set in heaven with a *putto* representing *Amour*.

52 For some of these accounts see D(aniel) P(ickering) Walker, “Musical Humanism in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”, in: *The Music Review*, 2 (1941), pp. 111–114.

53 For a discussion and reproduction of this painting, see Georges Rouchès, *Eustache Le Sueur* (Paris, 1923), p. iii, pp. 25–41.



Fig. 3

The introduction of the *Rhétorique* informs us that the wreathed *putto* is *l'amour de la vertu*. On the one hand this is a standard character from the emblem books, while on the other hand the "love of virtue" is a major theme in the *Rhétorique*'s literary text. In both Ripa's 1603 *Iconologia* and in Baudouin's translation, the *amor virtutis* is a small blond cupid wearing a laurel wreath and modestly covered by a ribbon. This is exactly the figure that Le Sueur employs for the *Rhétorique* illustration. Minerva is commonly depicted with her shield (upon which is often an image of the head of Gorgo) in the emblem books⁵⁴. The male-female criss-cross design (Apollo-Chambré, Minerva-Gaultier) is a stylized visual counterpoint also used by Bosse for his illustration of the *Mixolydien* (and perhaps the *Sous-Aeolien*) mode.

The next illustration (fig. 3) is the title page, designed by Le Sueur (his sketch for this illustration survives in the Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, No. 9159, and is reproduced in

54 For representations of Minerva and other common images, see Henkel and Schöne (footnote 33), pp. 1750–1753.

MUSIQUE.



Fig. 4

HARMONIE.



Fig. 5

Tessier's edition)⁵⁵, and executed by Bosse. It depicts the figures of Music, Eloquence, and Harmony in heaven. Here a Pythagorean "music of the spheres" seems to be suggested by the surrounding zodiac. The figure of Eloquence has imagery associated with the Muse, Polyhymnia. The zodiac is the common setting for the Muses⁵⁶. Le Sueur had previously painted the Muses and in his depiction of Polyhymnia Le Sueur has her playing a triangle⁵⁷. In emblem books she is represented as a woman crowned with pearls, holding a sceptre in her left hand, and raising her right hand as if ready to harangue⁵⁸. The only difference between this image and the *Rhétorique's* depiction of Polyhymnia/Eloquence is that instead of a sceptre she holds a caduceus (the image of the divine life-giving force we encountered on the cover). She is described in the emblem literature as being crowned as the *fille* of heaven. The *Rhétorique's* Eloquence is crowned with pearls and diamonds (Polyhymnia's diadem). That the writer of the *Rhétorique's* introduction did not acknowledge this figure as a Muse is perhaps another indication of the independence with which the manuscript's creators proceeded.

Le Sueur's *maître*, Simon Vouet (1590–1649), depicted a woman in a similar pose with a *putto* holding a stone marker on which is written *svadere* (to persuade)⁵⁹. Commonly called "Allegory of Eloquence", this figure has been identified as the Muse, Polyhymnia⁶⁰. We see the same pearl diadem, exposed left breast, and rhetorical pose⁶¹ as the figure in

55 See Tessier (footnote 1), facing p. 10.

56 For a contemporary account of the relationship of the Muses to the planets and the zodiac, see Agrippa von Nettesheim, "Heinrich Cornelius, De Occulta philosophia", in: *Opera* (Lyon, ca. 1600; reprinted, New York, 1970), 1, Lib. 2, Cap. 27, pp. 233–235.

57 See Natalie Rosenberg Henderson, "Le Sueur's Decorations for the Cabinet des Muses in the Hôtel de Lambert", in: *The Art Bulletin*, 56 (1974), pp. 555–570.

58 See Ripa (footnote 35), 2, pp. 74–75.

59 See William R. Crellly, *The Paintings of Simon Vouet* (New Haven, 1962), pl. 176.

60 See Robert L. Manning, "Some Important Paintings by Vouet in America", in: *Studies in the History of the Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on his 80th Birthday* (London, 1959), pp. 294–303.

61 See Ripa (footnote 35), 2, p. 71.

the *Rhétorique*'s title page. Baudouin's inscription for Polyhymnia tells us that she follows the "precepts de la rhétorique".⁶²

Le Sueur's other figures may have been similarly derived from De Bie's emblems. In Baudouin's book the figure *Musique* (fig. 4) is represented by a woman "qui regarde fixement un livre ouvert, qu'elle tient d'une main et une plume de l'autre, pour corriger sa tablature"⁶³. This may have suggested to Le Sueur the open scroll of lute tablature that the *Rhétorique*'s figure of *Musique* is holding. De Bie's emblem shows a woman with similar drapery, also facing right⁶⁴.

The figure of Harmony in Le Sueur's design also appears to have been taken from *Iconologie* where she is portrayed wearing a similar crown with the same classical profile facing left⁶⁵ and playing a large viol (fig. 5). She is said to be "couronné comme fille du ciel, les charmes de laquelle enchantent la couers, flechissent les Tygres, et donnent du mouvement aux choses inanimées"⁶⁶. These words recall a major theme in the book, namely Gaultier's power to animate bodies without souls (the power of the caduceus). (Similar language is used for the commentary to Juno in which the movements of Harmony are described. The writer was undoubtedly familiar with the material commonly found in the emblem books of the period. The commentaries themselves do not seem to be based upon the same book used for some of the illustrations—Baudouin's *Iconologie*. See later discussion for the details.)

In his painting of Polyhymnia, Le Sueur shows her holding a triangle, a rare symbol for this Muse. In Le Sueur's surviving sketch (fig. 6)⁶⁷ she is identified by her pearl diadem. Le Sueur seems to have felt free to appropriately substitute imagery from *Iconologie*, adapting them for the immediate circumstance. The caduceus replaces Polyhymnia's sceptre; a scroll with lute tablature replaces *Musique*'s open book; a lute replaces Harmony's viol. This freedom in adapting images characterizes the *Rhétorique*'s illustrations, and we will see further examples of this adapting of common symbols in Bosse's mode illustrations.

The final figurative illustration in the manuscript (fig. 7) shows a *putto*, dressed as Mars, sitting near the Chambré coat of arms (the two anchors intertwined with floral arrows, stars, and other shapes). The image of Mars seems to be an oblique reference to Chambré himself, the treasurer of war to M. le Prince Condé. The following last leaf concludes the book with a decorative initial in which A and C are combined (fig. 8).

The illustrations of the Modes

The author of the introductory preface to the *Rhétorique* tells his readers

[...] comme chacun de ces modes est propre à exciter certaines passions, et qu'ils sont propres à certains chants, l'on a représenté dans chacun les actions que le mode fait naître, les Instruments tant anciens que modernes qui luy sont plus convenables, et mesmes l'on a observé d'y faire l'Architecture conforme à ces modes [...].

62 *Ibid.*, 2, p. 75.

63 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 123.

64 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 121.

65 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 85.

66 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 87.

67 See Tessier (footnote 1), facing p. 10.

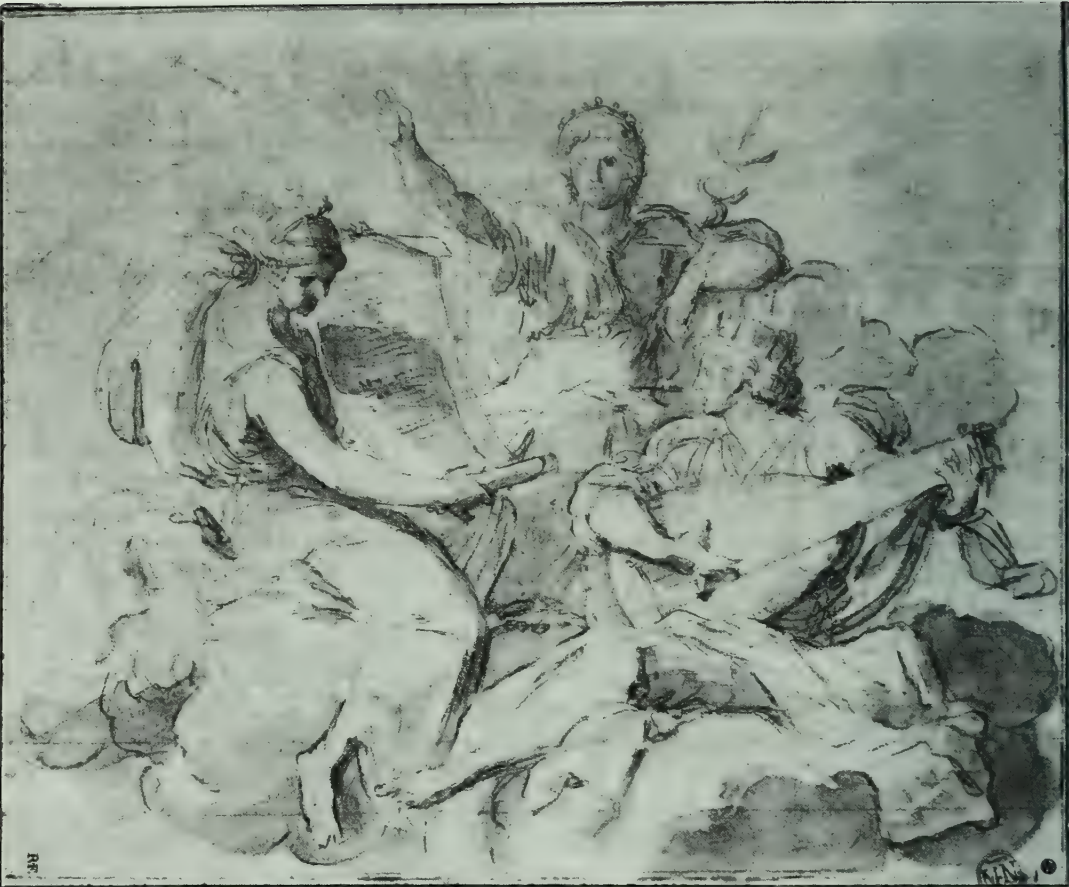


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

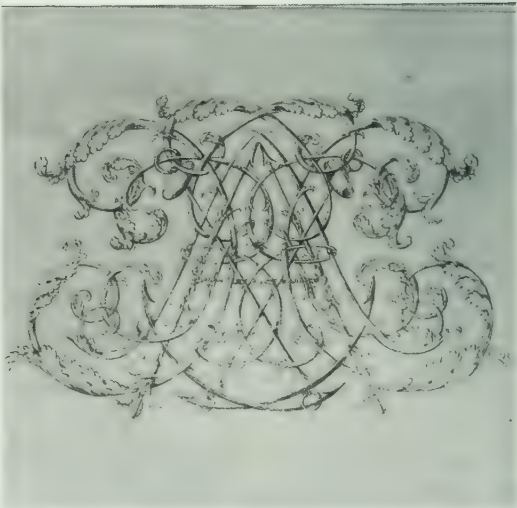


Fig. 8

These remarks recall Nicolas Poussin's (1594–1665) descriptions of the modes (linked to the architectural orders) in the artist's famous letter of 1647⁶⁸. Art historians have shown that Poussin's remarks were derived from Zarlino's comments on the modes and similar attitudes can be observed in other contemporary accounts⁶⁹. Perhaps the most relevant source for the present discussion is Antoine Parran's *Traité de la musique théoretique et pratique* of 1639⁷⁰. Parran begins his treatment of the ancient modes with a discussion remarkably similar to that in Poussin's letter:

Mode n'est autre chose que l'ordre, la mesure, ou la forme que nous tenons à faire quelque chose, laquelle nous astraint puis apres à ne point passer outre⁷¹.

Parran, in his remarks on the modes, the creators of the *Rhétorique*, and Poussin, all express the same idea in regard to the *Dorian* mode and the *Dorien* architectural order, and the *Ionien* mode and the *Ionien* architectural order⁷².

Abraham Bosse brought a similar attitude to his representations of the modes in the *Rhétorique des Dieux*. These notions all share a quality of being a theoretical account with little or no parallel in the actual music of the period. This quality is revealed in a graphic manner in the *Rhétorique*'s confusing mode organization. Nevertheless, a belief in the power of the modes, supported by empirical observation of the "passions", appears not to have required an exact system in musical practice, but only an awareness that

68 "Cette parole 'mode' signifie proprement la raison ou la mesure et forme de laquelle nous nous servons à faire quelque chose, laquelle nous astraint à ne passer pas outre, nous faisant opérer en toutes les choses avec un certaine mediocrité et moderation [...]. De la vient que les sages anciens attribuerent à chacun sa propriété des effets qu'ils voyaient naître d'eux. Pour cette cause ils appelèrent le mode dorique stable, grave et sévère, et lui appliquaient matières grave, sévère et pleines de sapience. Et, passant de là aux choses plaisantes et joyeuses, ils usaient le mode phrygien pour avoir ses modulations plus menues qu'aucun autre mode, et son aspect plus aigu. Ces deux manières, et nulle autre, furent louées et approuvées de Platon et Aristote, estimant les autres inutiles, ils estimèrent ce mode véhément, furieux, très sévère, et qui rend les personnes étonnées. J'espère, devant qu'il soit un an, dépeindre un sujet avec ce mode phrygien. Les sujets de guerres épouvantables s'accommodent à cette manière. Ils voulurent encore que le mode lydien s'accommodat aux choses lamentables parce qu'ils n'a pas la modestie du dorien ni la sévérité du phrygien. L'hypolidien contient en soi une certaine suavité et douceur, qui remplit l'âme des regardants de joie. Il s'accommode aux matières divines, gloire et paradis. Les anciens inventerent l'ionique avec lequel ils représentaient danses, bacchanales et fêtes, pour être de nature jocunde". Nicolas Poussin, *Lettres de Nicolas Poussin précédées de la vie de Poussin* par Felibien (Paris, 1945), pp. 238–243.

69 Paul Alfassa, "L'Origine de la lettre de Poussin sur les modes d'après un travail récent", in: *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art française*, (1933), pp. 125–143. The views on the significance of Poussin's citation of Zarlino are divided. Denis Mahon, "Poussiniana: Afterthoughts arising from the Exhibition", in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 60 (1962), pp. 122–127, believes Poussin's remarks are of almost no account while Jan Białostocki, "Das Modusproblem in den Bildenden Künsten: Zur Vorgeschichte und zum Nachleben des 'Modusbriefes' von Nicolas Poussin", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 24 (1961), pp. 128–141, finds the mode principle to be a fundamental aid in understanding Poussin's approach to subjects for his paintings. Other supporters of this latter point of view include Wilhelm Messerer, "Die Modi im Werk von Poussin", in: *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler* (Munich & Berlin, 1972), pp. 336–356, and Ursula Mildner-Flesch, "Das Decorum. Herkunft, Wesen und Wirkung des Sujetstils am Beispiel Nicolas Poussins", in: *Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum*, (1983), pp. 1–2, 121–123, 139–141, which includes a good bibliographical review on the topic. For another short summary see Edward Lockspeiser, "Poussin et les modes", in: *Revue de musicologie*, 53 (1967), pp. 61–64.

70 Antoine Parran, *Traité de la musique théoretique et pratique* [...] (Paris, 1639).

71 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

72 See the "effects" of the different architectural orders as described by Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* (Paris, 1650), p. 36.

certain passions are accompanied by particular traits, *raisons*, and *mesures*, in a certain proportion.

The three pictures showing outdoor scenes are used for the *Phrygien* and *Sous-Phrygien* modes, which are often related to military matters, and the *Sous-Ionien*, associated with dancing and outdoor festivities⁷³. Such views are common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁷⁴.

The following discussion of the illustrations will attempt to draw new conclusions based on a contemporary description of the ethos of the modes in Parran's 1639 *Traité*, upon which Bosse seems to rely. Table 3 summarizes Parran's remarks on both ancient and modern modes.

Table 3. Antoine Parran's Descriptions of the Ancient and Modern Modes

I	<i>Dorian</i> Modern – Bellicose, pious, and proper for maintaining prudence. Ancient – Grave, constant, and severe.
II	<i>Hypodorian</i> Modern – Grave and very appropriate for religious and spiritual songs. Ancient – (No attributes given)
III	<i>Phrygian</i> Modern – Appropriate for exciting anger. Ancient – Same as modern.
IV	<i>Hypophrygian</i> Modern – Appropriate for lamentations and for appeasing the passions of anger. Ancient – (No attributes given)
V	<i>Lydian</i> Modern – Loose and effeminate, appropriate for lamenting. Associated with flutes. Ancient – Appropriate for funereal and lamenting melodies.
VI	<i>Hypolydian</i> Modern – Exciting voluptuousness. Ancient – (No attributes given)
VII	<i>Mixolydian</i> Modern – Effeminate and enfeebling (<i>affoiblissant</i>). Ancient – Appropriate for arousing and appeasing.
VIII	<i>Hypomixolydian</i> Modern – Pleasant, delicate, appropriate for flattery and delighting the ear. Ancient – (No attributes given)
IX	<i>Aeolian</i> Modern – Appropriate for lyric verses, imparting softness and gravity to words and voices. Ancient – Same as modern.
X	<i>Hypoeolien</i> Modern – Same effects as the preceding mode. Ancient – Same as modern.
XI	<i>Ionian</i> Modern – Appropriate to recreations, ballets, and dances. Ancient – Same as modern.
XII	<i>Hypoionian</i> Modern – Serving the production of dawn concerts (<i>aubades</i>). It has the same qualities as the Ionian. Ancient – used for amorous gatherings (<i>resueils</i>).

With respect to the musical instruments in particular the notion of specific instruments being appropriate for certain modes is commonly found in the writings of both ancient⁷⁵

73 See Walker (footnote 52), pp. 222–227.

74 Thoinot Arbeau, in his *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1589), fol. 6r, attributes these Ionian qualities to statements by Galen.

75 These accounts are cited, along with a discussion and reproductions of the appropriate instruments, in

and modern writers, including Zarlino⁷⁶, Mersenne⁷⁷, and Parran⁷⁸. The correspondence between Bosse's illustrations and Parran's treatise is also apparent here.

Since Parran himself suggests Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*⁷⁹ as a source for detailed treatment of the instruments, it is not surprising to find all the instruments in Bosse's illustrations represented in Mersenne's book, with the exception of the *cornu* and the zitherlike instrument found in the *Sous-Lydien* and *Mixolydien* illustrations. The *cornu* would certainly be found in many Roman sources easily available to Bosse⁸⁰.

The immense serpents and the extravagantly decorated harp in the *Dorien* drawing may in fact be "dummy" stage instruments. The large size of the syrinx (panpipes) in the *Sous-Lydien* illustration and the fantastically designed lyres and kitharas also suggest that Bosse may have used "prop" instruments from the stage decorations of contemporary ballets operas, and other court entertainments⁸¹, as models.

The lute is the only instrument to appear in each illustration (in the final mode illustration, the *Sous-Ionien*, the lute is appropriately put away in its case). The last four illustrations have no ancient instruments. These modes were considered ancient and so there is no apparent reason why only modern instruments would be depicted.

Dorien

The *Dorien* illustration (fig. 9) contains no representation of exclusively ancient instruments. For this "grave and stable" mode Bosse shows a woman playing an organ with a winged *putto* figure operating the bellows. She is dressed in contemporary garb and angel wings adorn her chair. The architecture of the *Dorien* illustration is found on the organ, where a Doric triglyph is shown above the cornice and fluted pilaster or the organ's sides.

A woman at the organ with an angel working the bellows is the common seventeenth-century pose for St. Cecilia. Bosse had in fact portrayed the Saint in this pose in an engraving⁸². Past scholars have not recognized this possibility for the *Dorien* illustration. While it is customary to find *putti* represented with an upward glance of the face, the only *putto* depicted with this expression in the manuscript is in the *Dorien* illustration. This upward glance may have been used to signal a divine nature of the music of this mode as it is played by the *putto*'s mistress.

Aside from the organ the illustration shows a transverse flute, cornet, trumpet, serpent, lute, viol, theorbo, and harp. By their looks none of them alludes to antiquity; but that they appear here is consistent with Parran's notion of this mode as pious, grave, severe,

Günter Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom* (Leipzig, s.a.), pp. 84–91, (= *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, vol. 2, fascicle 5). For Greek literary references, see Andrew Barker, ed., *Greek Musical Writings 1: The Musician and his Art* (Cambridge, 1984).

76 Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche de M. Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia [...]* (Venice, 1558), 4, ii–viii.

77 Marin Mersenne, *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim* (Paris, 1623), Qu. 57, art. xiv.

78 Parran (footnote 70), pp. 112–127.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

80 See Fleischhauer (footnote 75), p. 65, for some typical representations of the *cornu* on Roman reliefs depicting military scenes.

81 For a discussion of representations of stage instruments in Italian paintings see Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven, 1979), pp. 211–225.

82 Mirimonde, *L'Iconographie* (footnote 6), 1, p. 118.

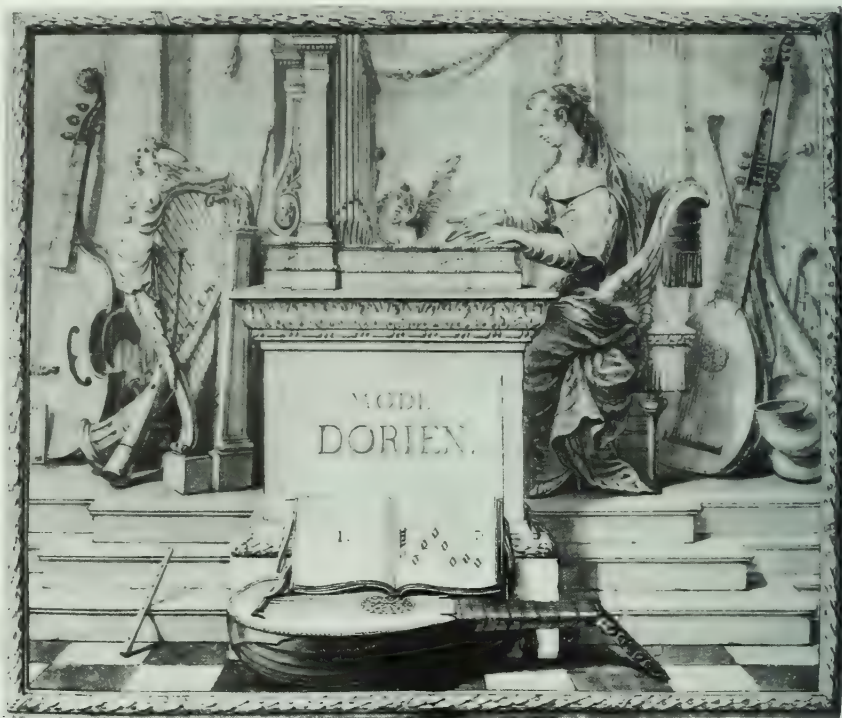


Fig. 9

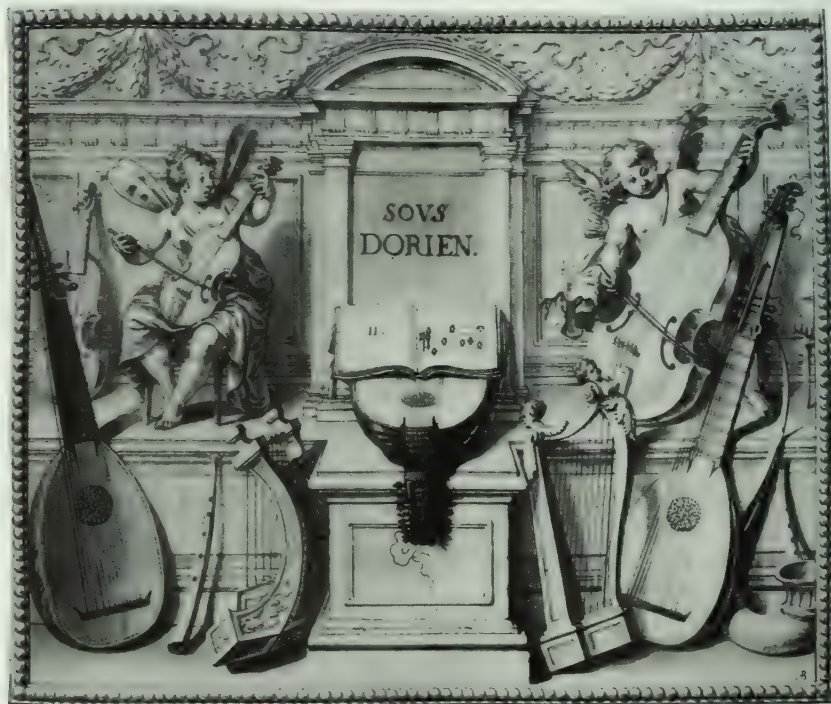


Fig. 10

and prudent. He writes that Xenocrates relieved lunatics with the music of the organ⁸³, that “Thales de Crete chassoit les maladies” with the “douce harmonie” of the harp and the *lute*⁸⁴, and that Alepiades “rendoit l’ouïe aux sourds” with the trumpet⁸⁵—all suggesting the power of these instruments to create related effects. Mersenne specifically mentions the *tuba* in his description of the *Dorien* mode⁸⁶.

Sous-Dorien

The *Sous-Dorien* illustration (fig. 10) also shows Doric architectural elements in the pattern of triglyphs in the frieze, and a decorative arch. Bosse portrayed this type of arch as a Doric *portique* in his *Traité on architecture*⁸⁷. The illustration suggests a duet between Cupid and Psyche (he is identified by his arrows and she by her butterfly wings).

Of the instruments shown—cornet, serpent, theorbo, lute, viol, harp, and kithara—only the latter two are ancient. No war-like instruments are represented, rather the lute and the theorbo, “instruments de repos destinez aux plaisirs serieux & tranquiles, & dont la languissante harmonie est ennemie de toute action, & ne demande que des Auditeurs sedentaires”⁸⁸. Parran’s description of this mode as “grave, religious, and spiritual” is consistent with these instruments, especially the harp (in a Davidic connotation) and the lutes and viols “lesquels sont pour l’ordinaire plus graves et plus languissant”⁸⁹.

Phrygien

The *Phrygien* illustration (fig. 11) contains the most instruments with specific mode connotation—the mode of war, military matters, and anger⁹⁰. Besides the lute (which is not being played) we have a *putto* with a cornu. This is a Roman curved *tuba* held vertically by a cross-bar and terminating with a flaring bell⁹¹. It was used in the call-to-arms and for the cavalry. Another *putto* beats on a drum and both send a third *putto* off to war with sword in hand. More drums, small and large, are depicted along with cymbals, a large rattle, a straight Roman *tuba* and a “phrygian tibia” or *aulos*. The Greeks believed this latter instrument to be of Phrygian origin⁹², and it is mentioned by contemporary French writers as such⁹³. Cymbals (*cymbala*), like the *aulos*, also have “phrygian” references in antiquity⁹⁴. The straight trumpet is another Roman military instrument⁹⁵. Parran mentions the trumpets and the pipes (*chalumeaux*) in regard to war⁹⁶.

83 Parran (footnote 70), p. 126.

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 Mersenne (footnote 77), and discussed in Walker (footnote 52), pp. 223–225.

87 Bosse (footnote 50), p. 4. This decorative Roman arch recalls Michelangelo’s frequent use of this element.

88 Michel de Pure, *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* [...] (Paris, 1668), p. 274.

89 Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), facs. ed. François Lesure (Paris, 1963), Livre de Chants, p. 172.

90 See Arbeau (footnote 74), 6v–7v, 17r; Walker (footnote 52 and 73).

91 See footnote 80.

92 See Fleischhauer (footnote 75), pp. 14, 18, 76–86.

93 Arbeau (footnote 90).

94 See Fleischhauer (footnote 75), pp. 84–85, esp. the remarks of Catallus.

95 *Ibid.*, pp. 62–71.

96 Parran (footnote 70), pp. 125–126.



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Sous-Phrygien

The partner of the *Phrygien* mode, the *Sous-Phrygien* (fig. 12), traditionally has a kind of antithetical, complimentary ethos⁹⁷. It appeases the anger incited by the *Phrygien*, as Parran relates. Bosse creates a complimentary portrayal with the same triangular compositions with a central figure atop a pedestal, inciting the actions of the *putti* beneath him, but using different instruments and gestures. This time the central figure is Apollo, playing a lyre and causing an armored *putto* to drop his sword while a female *putto* affects a downward glance. These depictions recall the famous account of Timotheos, Alexander's musician/servant, who could excite and appease anger in his prince. The two figures beneath the Apollo *putto* seem to be in the guise of Mars and Venus. Beaked flutes, viols, lyres (with plectra), sistrum, lute, and harp adorn the drawing. Parran writes that flutes "appaissent les troubles" and that Theophraste "remedioit aux mouvements d'esprit déreglez par le moyen de la Fluste"⁹⁸. He also cites the above-mentioned classical reference for the effect of the harp and the lute as "chasing away maladies"⁹⁹. He mentions the power of the lyre to tame and appease¹⁰⁰. The sistrum had a strong Egyptian connotation for the Greeks and Romans and was found in the rituals of the Isis and Cybele cults. Its inclusion in the *Sous-Phrygian* illustration may be owing to its ancient connection with the joyous and ecstatic celebrations associated with the victorious returning from war.

Lydien

The *Lydien* mode, described by Parran and others as "complaining" and "funeral", is depicted by Bosse with funeral imagery (fig. 13)—an owl, a skull, drapery with a pattern of tears, matching funeral urns holding the remains of a couple, a crying *putto* with butterfly wings (a symbol of rebirth) and an extinguished torch, and a *putto* who beats on a covered drum (his head is covered as well). The artist cuts his picture off below the top of the pilaster to avoid revealing an architectural order. He continues to avoid reference to any order until the illustrations for the *Aeolien* and *Ionien maneriae*.

Of the instruments—a lute, a covered kettle drum (beaten by a draped *putto*), a bell, a shawm, and a straight Roman *tuba*—only the last one seems to be closely related to the subject. It was associated with funerals as well as military matters in antiquity¹⁰¹.

Sous-Lydien

The *Sous-Lydien* illustration (fig. 14), with its design borrowed from Raphael's *School of Athens*, seems to depict carnal love with an erotic pose by Cupid and Psyche figures—the leg of Psyche is crossed over the leg of Cupid. Two *putti* on the right appear to be discussing this amorous moment. Parran describes the *Sous-Lydien* mode as "exciting

97 See footnotes 52, 70, 77.

98 Parran (footnote 70), p. 126.

99 *Ibid.*

100 *Ibid.*

101 The straight trumpet is commonly depicted in reliefs showing funeral processions. See Fleischhauer (footnote 75), pp. 106–107.

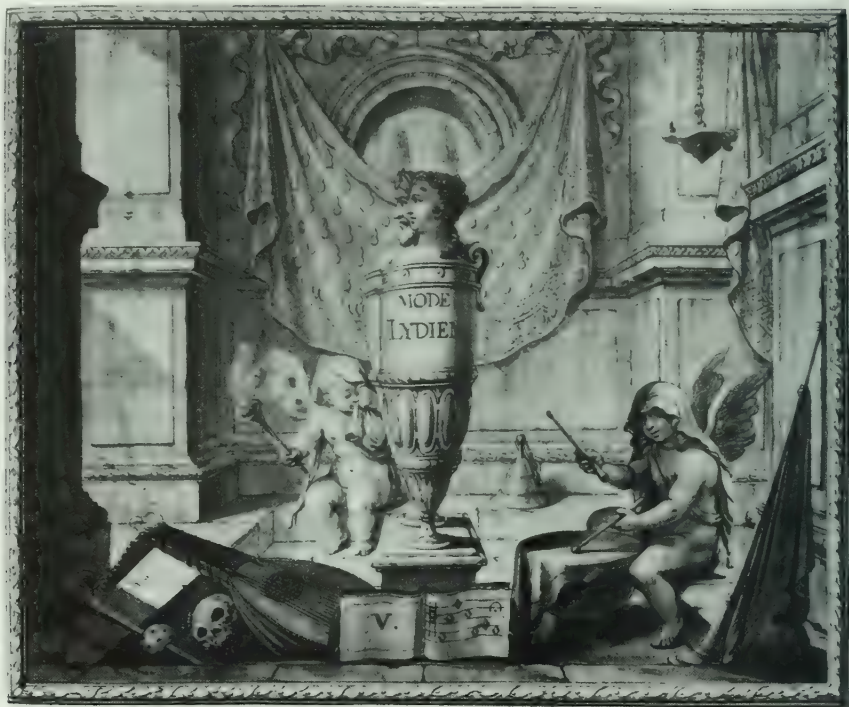


Fig. 13



Fig. 14

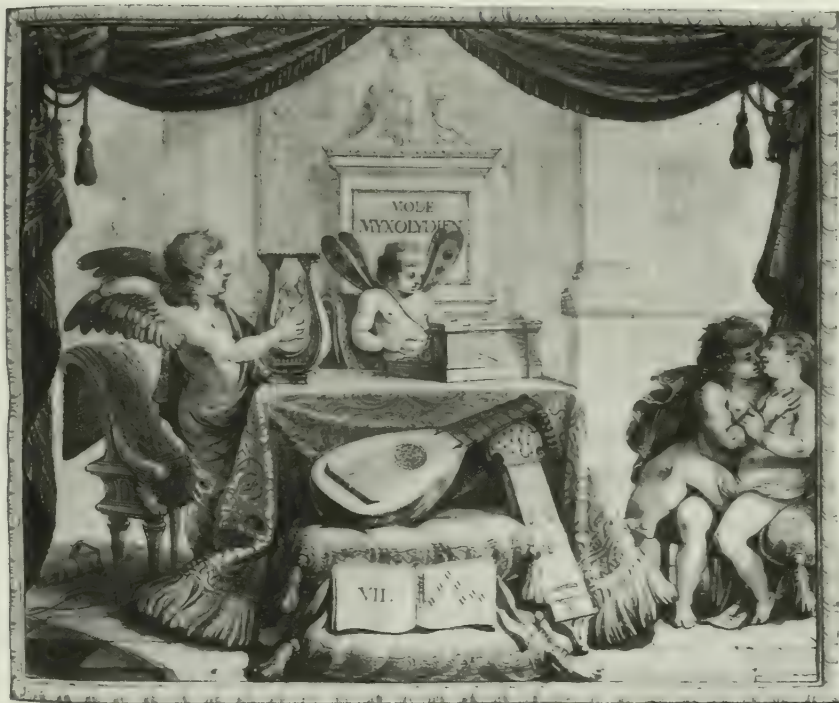


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

voluptuousness”, a rarely cited attribute and further evidence of a direct connection between Parran’s *Traité* and Bosse’s illustrations.

In his book on iconographic sources during the Bourbon monarchy, A. P. de Mirimonde identified the statues depicted in the background as Diana and Actaeon¹⁰². However, the figure on the left is clearly a *Venus Pudica*, the modest Venus of antiquity. The two doves in the scene are a common symbol of Venus. The hunting dogs and bow and arrows belong to the statue on the right—probably Adonis. Scenes with Venus and Adonis are rustic and bucolic, a proper setting for the erotic and the voluptuous. As in the previous two illustrations, a central figure incites the others by performing music in the proper mode.

The instruments that Bosse chose for depicting the quality of this mode are lyre, lute, viol, syrinx, flute, and zither¹⁰³. The rustic associations of the zither, syrinx, and flute lend themselves to the voluptuous and erotic nature of pastoral scenes. Parran mentions the flute specifically in regard to the *Lydiens*¹⁰⁴, and Ménestrier associates the flute and musette with shepherds and rustic people¹⁰⁵.

Mixolydian

The *Mixolydian* illustration (fig. 15) shows Cupid and Psyche figures playing a duet that apparently causes two *putti* to assume an erotic pose similar to that in the last illustration (this mode is called “effeminate and enfeebling” by Parran). The lute in the foreground directs the eye towards the amorous couple.

The zither is similar to the one in the *Sous-Lydien* drawing. Furthermore there is a lyre (the same one in the previous drawing, now played by a *putto*) and a small clavichord (also played by a *putto*). The effect is again erotic (Parran describes it as *affoiblissant*), as evinced by the same three instruments as in the previous illustration and the same pose for the *putti*. The notion that certain music might make youthful listeners enfeebled or effeminate is a common concern for the writers of classical antiquity, whose ideal free man had a noble and strong character that functioned efficiently in war. Both Plato’s and Aristotle’s famous remarks on modal ethos testify to this concern.

Aeolien

The illustration for the *Aeolien* mode (fig. 16) contains the capitals and the continuous frieze of the Ionic order. A trio is depicted, consisting of two women in ostentatious *salon* garb and a *putto* with two lutes and a large harpsichord. The background of this and the following two illustrations show tapestries that depict outdoor scenes. Parran writes

102 Mirimonde, “Poussin” (footnote 6), p. 134; *idem*, *L’Iconographie* (footnote 6), 1, p. 59.

103 In Mirimonde’s discussion of the mode illustrations (see footnote 6), he identifies the zither-like instrument as a *bûche* or *épinette des Vosges*. Yet this instrument doesn’t have the frets or typical decorations of the *bûche*, nor does it have five strings. It has twelve. Thus it is probably a simple French zither or a stage instrument.

104 Parran (footnote 70), 125.

105 Claude-François Ménestrier, *Des Balets anciens et modernes selon le règles du théâtre* (Paris, 1668), pp. 200–201.

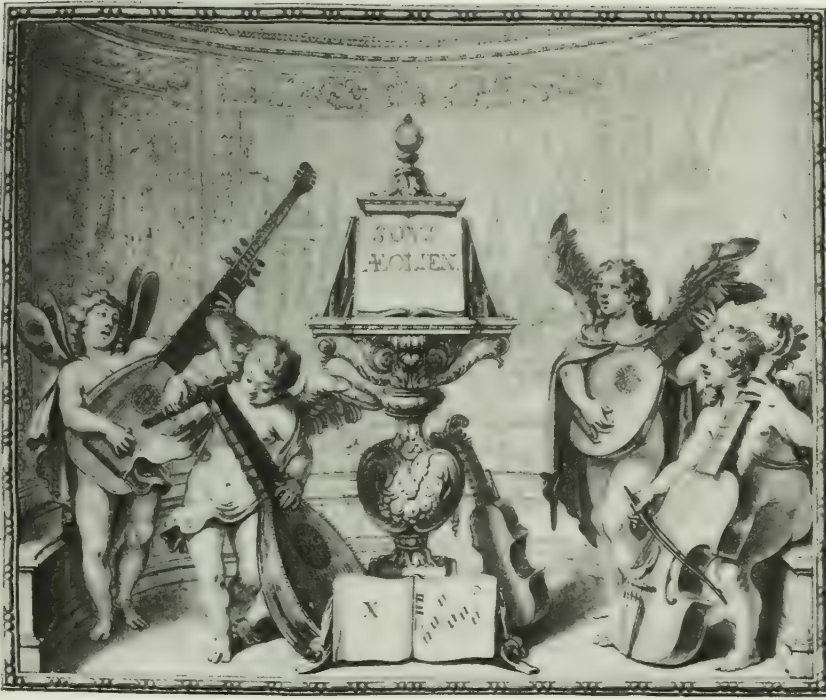


Fig. 17

that this mode imparts softness and gravity. Bosse seems to express this by depicting two women performers in ornate contemporary dress.

Sous-Aeolien

The *Sous-Aeolien* mode is represented by four *putti* performers (fig. 17) with exclusively modern instruments (two lutes, a theorbo, and two viols). Parran states that this mode's ethos is identical to the *Aeolien*. The scroll-like ornaments on the large three-sided music stand suggest the volute of an Ionic capital.

Ionien

Both ancient and modern writers (including Arbeau, Mersenne, and Parran) agree that the *Ionien* and *Sous-Ionien* modes are suitable for dancing and outdoor festivities—precisely the two respective scenes in Bosse's illustrations (figs. 18 and 19). The Ionic order is shown in the continuous frieze and capitals. Since most accounts claim that the *Ionien maniera* was suitable for dancing, it is not surprising to find this for the illustration of this mode. The dance depicted seems to be a *pas de deux entrée* from a ballet. Four *putti* provide music with violins. Contemporary writers, including Mersenne¹⁰⁶ and Me-

106 Mersenne (footnote 89), livre quatrième, p. 177.

néstrier¹⁰⁷, most often cite the violin as the most suited instrument for dance music and ballets.

Sous-Ionien

The final mode illustration, the *Sous-Ionien* (fig. 19) shows a concert in a courtyard, with a *putti* wind band on the left and a *putti* string ensemble on the right. In the center is a baroque fountain with a satyr's face carved in the middle of the decorations, a common baroque image dating back to antiquity. The face recalls the association of the *Ionien maniera* with Bacchic celebrations. The spectators appear to be dressed in Renaissance clothing. Ionic architectural order is shown. Parran's reference to dawn concerts (*aubades*), a rare attribute, probably inspired Bosse's design, and again shows a connection between Parran's *Traité* and Bosse's illustrations. The musical ensembles for this *aubade* consist of a string quartet (three violins and a viol) on the right side and a small wind band, typical for outdoor performances (two shawms and a huge serpent), on the left.

Overviewing Bosse's drawings as a whole one finds that they conform generally to common mode attributes, especially those found in Parran's treatise, but little direct correspondence to the literary text or to Gaultier's music seems to exist. It would appear that Bosse was given a free hand to represent the modes and he loosely adapted some mode concepts to suit his taste without regard to Gaultier's pieces, which were probably copied into the manuscript later.

IV

Mode Systems and the *Rhétorique*

The *Rhétorique des Dieux* is one of the last examples of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century predilection for grouping collections of pieces according to "mode". Earlier works by Claude Le Jeune (ca. 1528–1600), Charles Guillet (d. 1654), Artus Aux-Cousteaux (ca. 1590–ca. 1654), and Charles Racquet (1597–1664) were also organized according to mode, but the basis for mode ordering of these works is some element of the music itself, used in a consistent manner¹⁰⁸. In some instances the music is written to conform to a particular mode scheme, although mode ordering is more commonly used as a means of organizing pre-existing compositions¹⁰⁹. It is the latter tradition that the compiler of the *Rhétorique* drew upon in organizing the manuscript, although the keys of Gaultier's music presented formidable problems, as will be demonstrated.

The eleven surviving ink-wash mode illustrations each have the name of the mode in a prominent place, with a depiction of an open book showing a mode formula in mensural

107 See footnote 105.

108 Claude Le Jeune, *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance de monde* (Paris, 1606); Charles Guillet, *24 Fantasies* (Paris, 1610), re-edited in: *Werken voor orgel of voor vier Speeltuigen* (Antwerp, 1938), pp. 4–29; (= *Monumenta Musicae Belgicae*, 4); Artus Aux-Cousteaux, *Les Quatrains de Mr. Mathieu, mis en musique à trois partis selon d'ordre des douze modes* (Paris, 1643); Charles Racquet, 12 *Versets*, in Mersenne (footnote 89), 2, livre cinquième de la composition de musique, pp. 284–289.

109 For a discussion of the origins and various methods of mode classification in the sixteenth century see Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony", in: *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 428–470.



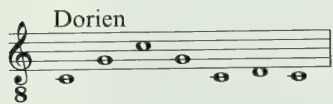
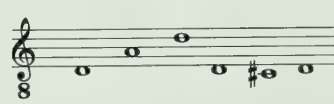
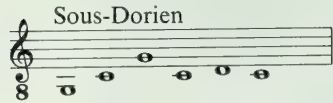
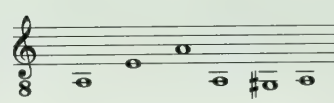
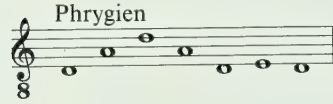
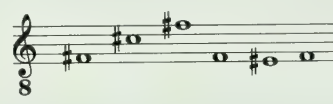
Fig. 18



Fig. 19

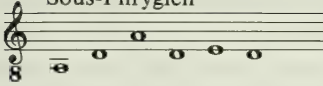
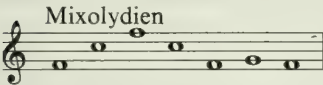
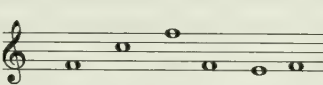
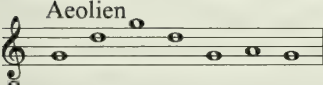
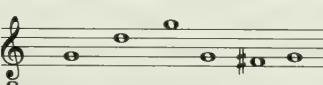
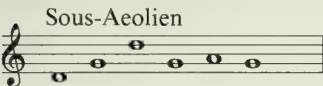
notation. The order and pitch level of these formulae correspond to the ordering of Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590), with the *Dorien* on C, the *Phrygien* on D, the *Lydien* on E, etc.¹¹⁰ Each formula gives a skeletal outline of an octave, appropriately divided, and a short cadence. For the authentic modes the octave is divided by a fifth followed by a fourth. The plagal modes show a fourth followed by a fifth (see Table 4, column 1). Bosse has inscribed a mode system in his illustrations that is internally consistent and in line with the mode system that dominates French theory in the first half of the century¹¹¹.

Table 4. Mode Formulae and Keys in the *Rhétorique*

I Bosse's Formulae	II The Tablature Formulae	III Gaultier's Keys
 <p>Dorien</p>		D Major
 <p>Sous-Dorien</p>		A Major
 <p>Phrygien</p>		F Sharp Minor

110 Zarlino first subscribed to the mode order of Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547), with the Dorian on D, the Phrygian on E, the Lydian on F, etc., in his *Istitutioni* (footnote 76). In Zarlino's *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1571) the mode order was changed with the Dorian on C, the Phrygian on D, etc. His next edition of the *Istitutione* (Venice, 1573) adopted this revised order. For details, see Lyn Tolkoff, "French Modal Theory before Rameau", in: *The Journal of Music Theory*, 17 (1973), pp. 150–163.

111 The French theoretical tradition in the seventeenth century is the subject of Herbert Schneider, *Die französische Kompositionslehre in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1972) (= *Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 3). According to Schneider both Zarlino and Glarean's mode systems were known in late sixteenth-century France. Adrien le Roy, *Traicté de Musique contenant une theorieque succincte pour methodiquement pratiquer la composition* (Paris, 1583) offers an eight-mode system with the first mode on D. In the edition of 1617 however, the system is changed to Zarlino's. During the first half of the century there is wide-spread acceptance of Zarlino's system, with the exception of Pierre Maillart, *Les Tons ou discours sur les modes de musique et les tons de l'Eglise* (Tournay, 1610), who prefers the system of Glarean. Theorists who adopt the Zarlino order include: Salomon de Caus, *Institution harmonique divisée en deux parties* (Frankfurt, 1615); Antoine de Cousu, *La Musique universelle, contenant toute la pratique et toute la theorie* (1633–5, four books missing, including the section on the modes, but the surviving sections precisely conform to the theory of Zarlino); Mersenne (footnote 89), pp. 262–267, publishes both Glarean and Zarlino's systems and like Parran, agrees with the latter (see Schneider, pp. 71–88). The manuscript tradition favors Zarlino's order as well, including Charles Guillet, *Institution harmonique* (1642) in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, and multiple translations of Zarlino's treatises. See Schneider, pp. 18–25, 185–192. By the second half of the century theoretical systems show greater variety and often exhibit complicated mode schemes, in part a reaction to the growing tension between the old mode orders and the emerging tonal practice. See footnote 114 for details.

Sous-Phrygien			F Sharp Minor
Lydien			No Music
Sous-Lydien			G Major
Mixolydien			F Major
Sous-Mixolydien (missing)			F Major
Aeolien			G Major
Sous-Aeolien			G Major
Ionien			A Minor
Sous-Ionien			A Minor

The concluding cadence of each formula gives a final—upper neighbor—final pattern. This cadence perhaps serves to clarify the special nature of the first interval of the mode, especially important in the modes based on E. These mode formulae are identical to those given in Antoine Parran's *Traité de la musique* (1639)¹¹², a key source for Bosse in his modal imagery, as was demonstrated earlier.

When one compares the mode formulas to the tonal centers in the actual music in the manuscript, one finds only a slight attempt at correspondence. Gaultier's suites are made up of sets of tonal dances and are grouped by key (see Table 4, column 3).

112 Parran (footnote 70), pp. 122–123.

Apparently because of the discrepancy between the tonal nature of the music and the mode formulae in the illustrations, the manuscript was subsequently provided with a series of formulae in tablature notation, written on paper pages with pen, and inserted between the leaves of vellum in an attempt to bridge this discrepancy. These pages, in another handwriting, are not mentioned in the introductory text or the table of contents. They are the only known examples of such formulae in lute tablature. Table 4, column 2 lists these in modern notation.

Unlike Bosse's mode formulae, the tablature formulae conform to no known mode scheme as a whole. The distinction between authentic and plagal modes (the division of the octave) is neglected. The short cadences at the end of the formulae are tonic-leading tone-tonic patterns (with the exception of the *Lydien*, to be explained shortly, and the *Sous-Lydien*, which has no concluding cadence).

Each of the tablature formulae divides the octave by a fifth followed by a fourth, as if all were authentic modes. However, since the music is tonal the tablature formulae closely adhere to the tonalities in the music. For instance, the *Sous-Dorien* tablature formula treats the mode as it were an authentic mode on A. This is more consistent with the actual music (which is in what we would today call A major) than Bosse's mode formula which divides the octave in the plagal manner. The tablature formulae for the authentic and plagal modes in the *Phrygien*, *Mixolydien*, and *Ionien maneriae* show no evidence of the authentic-plagal differentiation. Neither is any distinction made between the keys of the pieces contained in these authentic and plagal groups. The octave differentiation between the authentic and plagal tablature formulae for the *Ionien maneria* has no apparent reason.

There is evidence to suggest that the notator of the tablature formulae merely looked at the first piece in each section as a reference for his formulae without any regard to a consistent mode order. For example, the decision to place the *Sous-Aeolien* tablature formula on A is apparently the result of an earlier error by the copyist of the tablature. The first piece in this section, an unmeasured Prelude, is in the key of A minor, while the subsequent pieces are in the key of G minor. The copyist probably intended to place the Prelude in one of the following A minor sections (the *Ionien* or *Sous-Ionien*). The close correspondence between the tablature formula and Bosse's mensural formula for the *Lydien* mode seems to be a result of the lack of music in this section. The writer of the tablature formulae, having no music from which to derive his formula, probably looked to the mensural formula in Bosse's *Lydien* illustration and merely transcribed it in tablature. This also explains the single occurrence of a final—upper neighbor—final cadence in the tablature formulae in the *Lydien* formula.

All this suggests that at some point after the manuscript was assembled a lutenist who performed from the tablatures was motivated (probably due to the disturbing discrepancies between Bosse's mode formulae and the keys of the lute suites) to write his own formulae in tablature. While these conform to the actual music, they follow no mode scheme.

Some scholars have suggested that a kind of key or mode system was employed in the music of the *Rhétorique*¹¹³. While it is true that a few seventeenth-century theorists

113 Albert Cohen, in "Symposium of Seventeenth-Century Music Theory: France", in: *The Journal of Music Theory*, 16 (1972), p. 21, suggests that a mode system devised by Parran was used "as a scheme for

describe complicated mode systems, none allows a partial mixture of mode schemes in a single twelve-mode plan¹¹⁴. In this period theorists had only the old mode terminology to describe repertories that were often essentially tonal (major/minor). The confusing “mode” scheme used in the *Rhétorique*’s music, placed side by side with the Zarlino mode plan in the illustrations, makes for a graphic display of the tension between contemporary theory and practice.

The term “mode” is used in many seventeenth-century sources of lute music to describe the different tunings of the lute and the keys used in those tunings (*accords*)¹¹⁵. Denis Gaultier uses the term “modes nouveaux” in such a manner in his first print¹¹⁶. In his second (and last) print Gaultier promises a forthcoming method that will treat “the affection and passion of the modes”¹¹⁷. Gaultier died soon after and his ideas on these issues are not known. Yet the ancient belief in the power of the modes to move the passions was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and various accounts of these effects, especially in the art of the lutenist, have been well documented¹¹⁸.

V

The Commentaries to the Music

The language of the commentaries recalls the seventeenth-century *salon précieux* associated with the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* and its poet laureate, Vincent Voiture, but with a marked emphasis on moral virtues and heroism through mythological and historical (classical) allegory. Amorous and feminist themes, so typical of the *précieuse* style, appear to be suppressed from the text. The commentaries on female virtues (chastity, grace, tenderness, humor, musical ability) are edifying, moralistic, and instructional. These were perhaps included for Chambré’s daughter who may have been a lute student of Gaultier.

While the *salon* style often employs religious imagery in a secular context and manner, the *Rhétorique* makes little reference to Christian dogma and faith but hints at Christian ethics. The moralizing tone stresses virtue in women and an optimistic, Corneillian heroism in men. This latter quality is characterized by 1) stoicism, 2) Christian morality, and 3) Cartesian *générosité*, or the “nobility of the soul” through the triumph of reason over the passions. Perhaps these qualities reflect the views of this small *salon* of men who created the manuscript.

organizing a portion of Denis Gaultier’s *Rhétorique des dieux*” (sic). While Parran indeed gives a dual mode system in his *Traité* (Glarean and Zarlino’s orders) no such dual system was used in the *Rhétorique*. Joel Lester, in “Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany: 1592–1680”, in: *The Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 30 (1977), p. 215, claims that Gaultier “ordered compositions in his *Rhétorique* [...] according to twelve modes. The names agree with Zarlino, except that Ionian and Aeolian are reversed [...]”.

114 For further information on these mode systems, see Walter Atcherson, “Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books”, in: *The Journal of Music Theory*, 17 (1973), pp. 205–233.

115 See Thurston Dart, “Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute”, in: *The Galpin Society Journal*, 6 (1958), pp. 51–52.

116 Denis Gaultier, *Pièces de luth de Denis Gaultier sur trois modes nouveaux* (Paris, ca. 1669); *idem*, *Livre* (see footnote 8).

117 Gaultier, *Pièces* (footnote 116), p. 9.

118 See footnote 52.

The commentaries offer an abundance of baroque imagery. Funeral imagery (reflected in the illustration of the *Lydien* mode) is expressed in the commentaries dealing with death and monuments (= art), although less intensely than in the baroque art and poetry of the preceding period. Baroque themes of metamorphosis are especially prominent. As mentioned before, many of the titles of Gaultier's pieces are in fact literary and rhetorical genres cultivated in the period.

The allegorical characters in the text were archetypal symbols found in the basic educational materials of the period as well as the literature, visual arts, and musical productions (especially the ballets in France). Some ideas are found throughout the manuscript—Gaultier's music as a rhetorical art capable of miraculous effects through the power of oratory (like the "healing" power of the caduceus and the instruments selected for the *Dorien* mode illustration), immortalization through art, conquest, death, metamorphosis, and instructional pastoral vignettes. Many ideas in the text correspond to the visual imagery of the decorations, e.g., the butterfly wings as symbols of rebirth and metamorphosis, the caduceus, the horn-of-plenty, the lyre, etc.

Love is glorified as a pure virtue ("Atalante", "La Caressante", "La Coquette virtuosa", "Cleopatre Amante", "Diane"), or condemned in its extreme forms as a low passion ("Echo", "Juno, ou la Jalouse"). Of course multiple themes often appear in a single commentary.

The initial group of commentaries, the *Dorien*, describes mythological gods and their vices and virtues, especially eloquence. The first piece, aptly titled "La Dédicasse", is said to be a "discours celeste", in which Gaultier expresses perfectly his "reconnaissance envers les Dieux". These gods are then described in the subsequent commentaries: "Phaëton" struck down by his own ambition and impudence; Mercury, who warrants praise for the eloquence of his harangues and his governing over the arts ("Le Panégyrique"); Mercury possessed the caduceus, which could heal magically. Mercury is also said to have invented the lyre; Minerva, who governs the sciences and the liberal arts (especially music) that give birth to pure virtues and passions without violence (she is represented in one of the prefatory illustrations along with Apollo and Gaultier); Ulysses, praised for his eloquence in haranguing.

The second group of commentaries, the *Sous-Dorien*, focuses on goddesses and the female virtues—Andromeda for her acceptance of fate in the face of peril; Diana, for her virginity and virtue; Atalanta, for her steadfast virtue (she is the perpetual virgin who out-races her impassioned pursuers) that can overcome even divine fate. Another commentary in this section, "La Coquette virtuosa", praises magnanimity (Aristotle's highest virtue¹¹⁹, symbolized by the horn-of-plenty on the cover). The author mentions "l'amour de la Virtu", perhaps a double entendre describing the small cupid in the Apollo/Minerva prefatory illustration as well as the "love of virtue" that characterizes "Cette belle qui se fait autant d'amans que d'hommes qui l'entendent".

The *Phrygien* commentaries concentrate on death, immortality (through the power of art and Gaultier's music), war, and conquest. The first piece, "Tombeau de Mlle. Gaultier", is the first of three memorial pieces in the book, two of which are titled *tombeau* (the third is "Artemise ou l'Oraison funèbre"). Here Gaultier is said to have the power to

119 For a study of the French dissemination of Ethics, see Maistre Nicole Oresme (footnote 47).

raise corpses (also the power of the caduceus and the symbolic meaning of the butterfly wings):

L'Illustre Gaultier favorisé des Dieux du supreme pouvoir d'animer les corps sans ame, fait chanter à son Luth la triste et lamentable separation de la moitié de soy mesme, luy fait descrire le Tombeau quil luy a élevé dans la plus noble partie de l'autre moitié qui luy restoit, et luy fait raconter comme, à l'imitation de Fenix. Il s'est redonne la vie en immortalisant cette moitié mortelle.

The image of a "mortal half" has multiple meanings. Gaultier has been ascribed divine aspects (as expressed in the sonnets) as well as a mortal body and immortal soul. The "half of himself" is also a reference to his departed wife. This confusing *pointe* is typical of the *énigme*, a popular literary genre in the salons¹²⁰.

"Mars Superbe" describes the god of war and the classical ideal of the warrior whose "nourriture [...] doit estre de fer et d'acier; qu'il ne se doit occuper qu'au carnage et qu'il doit plustost mourir que de manquer à vaincre". "Cleopatre Amante" describes the conquest of the conqueror (Mark Anthony) by love, as well as the conquest of the gods by Gaultier's music. Cleopatra had recently been the subject of a celebrated twelve-volume Parisian novel, in progress, published between 1647 and 1658¹²¹.

The *Sous-Phrygien* commentaries present images of death, immortalization by art, and the return from war (like the illustration). "Artemise ou l'Oraison funèbre" refers to the Queen of Halicarnassus, whose love for her fallen brother, Mausolus, prompted her to create a monument, the Mausoleum (one of the seven wonders of the ancient world), and a competition for the most eloquent funeral oration. Theopompus won this contest for his elegiac panegyrique. In this commentary, the gods are said to have dictated this oration "à leur favory Gaultier pour marque de l'estime qu'ils en font". The other commentary in this section, "La Triomphe", a commonly staged ballet scene that theorists recognized as dating back to this very episode¹²², presents Caesar (the allegorical name for Condé)¹²³ in his chariot, leading a train of captured kings, princesses, and the spoils of many nations.

There are no commentaries in the *Lydien* or *Sous-Lydien* sections. The funeral imagery in the *Lydien* illustration would have certainly evoked an appropriate literary counterpart. The commentaries for the two *tombeaux* and "Artemise" suggest similar ideas.

The *Mixolydien* commentary, "Appolon Orateur", continues the image of Gaultier found in the first sonnet as Apollo metamorphosized into Gaultier. It connects with the description of Gaultier in the introduction ("de toutes les parties de Corps il attire l'Ame à l'oreille"):

Appolon recestu de l'humanite de Gaultier deploye icy les trésors de son bien-dire, et par la force de ses charmes fait que ses auditeurs deviennent tout oreilles.

The other titled piece in the section, "Diane au bois", has no commentary.

The *Sous-Mixolydien* commentary, "La Caressante", describes the grace and tenderness that "ont tant d'attraits que les plus insensibles demeurent d'accord qu'elle mérite d'estre

120 Lagarde and Michard (footnote 24), p. 60.

121 Gaultier de Coste, Siegneur de La Calprenède, *La Cleopatra* (Paris, 1646–1658).

122 Michel de Pure (footnote 88), pp. 170–174.

123 See the poem "Grand Duc qui d'Amour et Mars", of Jean-François Sarasin (1605–1654) in Mongrédien (footnote 19), p. 53.

aimée". This suggests a *salon* ideal and a typical character from a novel, poem, or the stage.

The *Aeolien* section has two commentaries and both emphasize themes of metamorphosis. *Circé*, is a classical character used in the ballets and one of the most frequent symbols of metamorphosis¹²⁴. The text describes the "fameux concerts" of the Sirens recalling the "scavans concerts" in the second sonnet. The goddess Harmony, depicted in Le Sueur's title page, is here said to have given *Circé*'s music to the "vertiable Gaultier". The commentary to "Céphale" relates his innocence in the death of his wife, Procris (a death caused by foolish jealousy). His eyes have metamorphosized into fountains from his grief and tears.

The sole *Sous-Aeolien* commentary is "L'Héroïque":

Ce discours que les Dieux font entendre aux mortels par le ministere de Gaultier leur Orateur, leur fait connoistre que celuy qui veut posseder la qualité de Magnanime ou généreux, doit chercher la Sagesse: qu'il doit surpasser tous les autres en vertu: qu'il se doit exposer courageusement aux grands perils pour des fins justes et raisonnables: qu'il doit estimer le vie pour faire de belles actions. Mais qu'il ne doit pourtant pas craindre la mort: qu'il doit mespriser les plaisirs: qu'il ne se doit jamais plaindre lorsqu'il est privé des biens de la fortune: qu'il doit aymer ses amis constamment: qu'il ne se doit ressouvenir des injures qui luy sont faites: qu'il doit aimer ses ennemies et haïr leur vice: qu'il doit dire ouvertement ses sentimens: qu'il ne doit pas beaucoup parler des hommes ny pour les louer ny pour les blasmer: que dans les partages il ne doit pas pretendre tout ce qu'il luy appartient: que si quelqu'un luy fait du bien qu'il luy en doit procurer d'avantage: qu'il ne doit pas estimer les Mechans ny craindre leur puissance: Et qu'il se doit humilier devant les Gens de bien.

Gaultier, the orator, delivers a divine discourse on heroism (Greek heros would achieve immortality and even divinity through meritorious actions). Aristotelian magnanimity is again praised as well as *générosité*, perhaps a Cartesian reference, since it is this quality that Descartes said could control the passions¹²⁵. This is also the trait of the Corneillian hero, along with stoicism and Christian morality. The latter quality can be seen in the hero's simultaneous love of his enemies and hatred of their vices (something the "Mars Superbe" of classical antiquity would have rejected in his occupation with carnage) and humility before worthy people. The pre-Hellenistic (and Spartan) ideal of scorning pleasure (rejected by the moral philosophers) is also found in the Corneillian hero.

Here the hero "openly declares his sentiments"—a *précieuse* trait that would cause the downfall of *le Grand Condé* during the *Fronde* (depicted in the character of Alceste in Molière's *Le Misanthrope*)¹²⁶. Condé was referred to as "le Héros"¹²⁷.

The commentaries for the last two sections, the *Ionien* and *Sous-Ionien*, contain more diverse themes than the other sections and lack the thematic unity found in the other groupings. The *Ionien* commentaries discuss loss and death but also invoke merry singing and gay humor. Transformation and disguise are also employed. In "Orphée," Gaultier is said to motivate Orpheus' lament for Euridice (another tombeau?), a reversal

124 See Rousset (footnote 12), pp. 181–187.

125 Lagarde and Michard (footnote 24), pp. 88, 123.

126 Molière, Jean Baptiste Poquelin, *Le Misanthrope, comédie* (Paris, 1667). The first performance was June 4, 1666.

127 Mongrédien (footnote, 19), pp. 92, 136.

of the image of Gaultier as being acted upon by the gods. As in the second sonnet, Gaultier is said to go beyond the liberal arts as he attracts all of nature (as Orpheus had attracted the animals by his music).

"Echo" provides another moral lesson on the vice of deceptive chatter and over-incited passion:

La Nimphe Echo justement punie du babil dont elle avoit souvent trompé Junon et maltraitée par l'amour qui l'avoit enflammée pour un amant ingrat, est reduite a se cacher dans les Antres et de ne pouvoir se plaindre des maux dont elle est affligée: Ne luy restant que le peu de pouvoir de proferer les dernieres paroles de ceux qui racontent leurs peines aux Rochers et aux forests.

The commentary relates that Juno turned Echo into the echo in a cave. The Echo myth has this nymph falling in love with Narcissus and being transformed into a rock, eternally pining away—again, metamorphosis.

In "L'Homicide" death is used as a Petrarchian antithetical metaphor for love, a popular *pointe* with the *précieuse* poets. "La Gaillarde", possibly a double entendre of a gay beauty and the dance genre of the piece it comments on, is another instructional portrait of a happy, virtuous young girl who "se disguise de cent belles façons". This phrase "cent belles façons" is also used in the first sonnet.

The *Sous-Ionien* commentaries may be sub-divided into two categories—the first three mythological inscriptions and the last one for a small suite of pieces written on the death of Gaultier's contemporary, Henry de Lenclos (a friend and fellow lutenist). "La Pastoralle" is a bucolic episode in which a peaceful scene of dancing and singing shepherds and shepherdesses (the *Ionien maneria* was acknowledged as appropriate for dancing) is interrupted by a famished wolf who attacks a lamb. The tale is brought to happy resolution when the wolf is chased away. Pastoral scenes are common in literature, art, and ballets in contemporary France.

"Narcisse", smitten by his own beauty, brings about his own downfall. The beauty of nature is evoked for the first time in the text. There is a Petrarchian antithesis of fire and water here ("le feu de son amour le desseché sur le bord de cette eau fatale").

In the commentary to "Junon, ou la Jalouse", the goddess Harmony again appears, her peace just interrupted by the enraged movements of Juno when she hears of Jupiter's love affairs. This interruption recalls the interruption in "La Pastoralle", although this time the music of the spheres has been disturbed. Metamorphosis is also present when Harmony "se changea pendant cette action de la manière que la pièce qui precede fait fidellement la demonstration".

The last three pieces are all rhetorical genres—*Tombeau*, *Consolation*, and *Resolution*. The only commentary is written to the first movement of this suite, "Tombeau de Monsr. de Lenclos":

Par le commendement d'Appolon les doctes Pucelles s'estant assemblées sur le Mont sacre pour dresser le Tombeau de *Lenclos*, l'un des Favoris de ce Dieu, tiennent conseil entr' elles de quelle matière et de qu'elle forme elles le doivent construire: en fin leur resolution prise.

Elles font abattre un grand If, qui depuis deux cens ans tiroit sa nourriture des tributs d'un cimetière, où il faisoit sa résidence: Elles en font un Luth, pour luy servir de Monument, et dans ce bois lugubre elles mettent reposer ses cendres. Mais comme elles reconnoissent que leur science n'est pas assez haulte et assez relevée pour prononcer son Oraison funebre, Elles font adroitement mettre ce Tombeau entre les mains du grand Gaultier le meilleur amy du defunct seul capable de

rendre ce dernier office; Cet homme divin ayant ce depost, en tire par la puissance de son Art des parolles qui expriment si fortement la douleur de cette perte, que tous ses Auditeurs prennent la nature de cette Passion.

This is certainly the most morbid commentary, utilizing extreme baroque imagery. A yew tree that has been drawing its nourishment from the corpses in a grave-yard is cut down and made into a lute (another reference to Gaultier's power to raise the dead?) by the Wise Virgins (the Muses) on Mt. Parnassus, by order of Apollo. As the Muses realize that Gaultier surpasses their own science (a word that appears two other times in the manuscript, in the introduction ("la science de grand Gaultier") and in the commentary to "Minerve" ("Cette Déesse qui possède toutes les Sciences ensemble")), they give him the task of rendering Lenclos' final office (a reference to the Christian liturgy in this mythological setting). Thus the commentaries end on a powerful note, again relating the power of this musical oratory to create monuments and thereby, to achieve a kind of immortality.

These commentaries contain themes that do not follow the ethical concepts of any specific mode scheme (unlike the illustrations by Bosse). Rather there is a sense of freedom in the choice of topics with some broad and general groupings of subjects: The severe and pious *Dorien* with themes that evoke the gods and their attributions; the *Sous-Dorien*, commenting on the female virtues; the *Phrygien* and *Sous-Phrygien*, focusing on death and war; the *Aeolien* on metamorphosis. In the case of the *Ionien* and *Sous-Ionien* there is a breakdown even in this very general sense of unity within sections. The *Mixolydien*, *Sous-Mixolydien*, and *Sous-Aeolien* sections contain only one commentary respectively. Thus it is difficult to know if these themes were seen as characteristic of the ethos in each of those modes, or just more musings by the author, produced under the spell of Gaultier's pieces.

VI

Conclusions: The Coordination of Literary and Musical Elements with Mode Concepts.

There are only three instances where music may have suggested a title or commentary to the author of this text. "Echo", an allemande or gigue, has a characteristic pseudo-imitative gesture in its opening that may have inspired the title. "La Gaillarde" (The Saucy Lass) bears the 6/4 meter and hemiola of the galliard dance. Finally, the inscription to "Junon, ou la Jalouse" describes a harmony resulting from the violent movements of Juno's raging, said to be inspired by the rapidly changing harmony of the accompanying courante. The remaining titles and commentaries may have been inspired by illustrations, ethical concepts of mode, or the imagination of the author. Most of the commentaries are general and ambiguous enough to adapt to a variety of associations one might call "ethical" in regard to a specific mode.

The divine virtues emphasized in the *Dorien* commentaries conform to the *Dorien* ethos, with its gravity, piety, and severity. This is consistent with Bosse's image of the woman who recalls St. Cecilia. The *Phrygien* mode, appropriate for anger and war, is consistent with the martial themes in the commentaries and Bosse's illustration. The *Sous-Phrygien* appropriate for lamentations and appeasing anger, is perhaps reflected in "Artemise, ou l'Oraison funebre", where a monument is raised to a fallen hero, and the theme of "La Triomphe", where Caesar returns from war. The *Ionien*, suited to dancing,

“Sinnbild”. Sulzer begins with this definition of symbol: “Ist ein sichtbares Bild, das ausser der unmittelbaren Vorstellung, die es erweket, noch eine andre allgemeine Bedeutung hat”⁴². One of the challenges for a painter, says Sulzer, is inventing ways to suggest ideas through symbols: “Es ist also in den zeichnenden Künsten eine wichtige Frage, wie man Sinnbilder erfinde, und wie eine besondere Sache zum Sinnbild könne gemacht werden?”⁴³

“Moral; Moralisches Gemähd”⁴⁴. A central theme in Sulzer’s huge treatise is that art should have an inspiring, ennobling influence on the human spirit. He is critical of the vogue for “historical” painting—huge canvases, crowded with people all gesticulating wildly, that narrate mythological, Biblical, or historical situations, and are intended to provide the viewer with some lesson in human behavior. Such works are deemed pretentious by Sulzer, and too imposing to address the ordinary man. Sulzer prefers messages that are communicated in simpler paintings which deal with everyday people who are gripped in situations of moral crisis.

~~Deciphering the Radoux Portrait~~

✕ Deciphering the message of a symbolic eighteenth-century painting is a speculative process. It cannot be otherwise, for throughout history artists have been reluctant to “decode” their symbolic works—and quite properly so, for to provide a verbal explanation of a symbol is to suggest that the symbol cannot fulfill its true purpose, which is to communicate *without* words. A symbolic portrait invites the viewer to enquire into the message which the sitter and his artist have set out to convey. Indeed, the mystique of a symbolic portrait lies in the way that it involves the viewer in this process of enquiry.

The following explanation of the meaning of the Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather is, therefore, my own—and is, of course, speculative. I find in this portrait a personal-didactic message set forth in four stages: first, by the flower-decorated band in the lower lefthand corner; second, by the confused cluster of music pages; third, by the dark purple cape; and fourth, by the right arm that thrusts from beneath that cape and leads to the pointing hand.

Stage one. The flower-decorated band with the red borders, half concealed in the lower lefthand corner, represents the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven’s wife, Maria Jospha Poll (c. 1714–1775). The ribbon as a symbol of the beloved is a ubiquitous device of literature, theater, and poetry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One encounters this device in such widely familiar works as Rousseau’s *Confessions* (which was begun in 1775)⁴⁵, Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774)⁴⁶, Beaumarchais’s

128 I wish to acknowledge Edward Wagner and Verna Ritchie of the University of Northern Iowa’s Rod Library for their assistance in securing rare bibliographical materials for this study.

The Radoux Portrait of Beethoven's Grandfather: Its Symbolic Message

Owen Jander

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In the vast scholarly literature about Ludwig van Beethoven very little has been written about this composer's interest in painting and the other visual arts. The reason is simple: there exists almost no evidence to suggest that Beethoven was especially sensitive to, or enthusiastic about painting, sculpture, architecture, etc. This being the case, one is intrigued by the following entry in Beethoven's *Tagebuch* of 1812–1818: "Haendel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Haydn's Portraite in meinem Zimmer — — — Sie können mir auf Duldung Anspruch machen helfen — —"¹.

"They can promote my capacity for endurance", is Maynard Solomon's translation. The idea that portraits of great composers could be displayed in a musician's living quarters in order to provide not just pleasure, but spiritual strength was hardly original to Beethoven; this was, in fact, a favorite concept at the end of the eighteenth century. The foremost advocate of the idea was the redoubtable Ernst Ludwig Gerber, author of the monumental *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (1790–92)². As a supplement to his *Lexikon* Gerber provided a catalogue of over a thousand etchings, engravings, and woodcuts of portraits of musicians—information that he had been gathering for more than a decade. In 1783 and 1784 he published three preliminary lists of musicians' portraits in Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*³, a journal that quite evidently was read by the teen-age Beethoven⁴. As an introduction to the first of these lists Gerber sets forth his convictions regarding the merits of collecting musicians' portraits. Addressing the reader he says:

1 Maynard Solomon, "Beethoven's *Tagebuch* of 1812–1818", *Beethoven Studies* 3, ed. Alan Tyson, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 193–288. The entry in question is no. 43 (p. 230).

2 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig, 1790–92 (facs. 1976).

3 *Magazin der Musik*, ed. Carl Friedrich Cramer, Hamburg, 1782–87 (facs. 1971). The three lists of musicians' portraits are found in II (1783), 962–69; III (1784), 194–202; and III, 339–43.

4 In vol. I, 394–95, there appeared the frequently quoted passage about the child prodigy Louis van Betthoven [sic]. This was written by Christian Gottlob Neeffe, Beethoven's teacher, who was the Bonn correspondent to the *Magazin der Musik*. Further evidence to suggest that Beethoven followed the *Magazin* as a teen-ager is found in my "Beethoven's 'Orpheus in Hades': The *Andante con moto* of the Fourth Piano Concerto", *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 8 (1985), 195–212 (see pp. 198–99, and footnotes 30 and 31).

Stellen Sie sich nun als warmer Verehrer und Kenner von Music ein Zimmer vor, in dem wir uns beym Eintritte in dasselbe auf einmal in eine Gesellschaft versetzt sehen, gegen die wir eben so viel Hochachtung als Dankbarkeit fühlen, denen wir die himmlisch süssesten Stunden unsers Lebens zu verdanken haben; die uns ihre Erfahrungen mitgetheilet, nähere und leichtere Pfade auf dem sauern Wege zur Kunst gewiesen; die in einem unaufhörlichen Bestreben gelebt haben, den Sterblichen ihre Hand voll Tage, die oft mit so vielen traurigen vermisch sind, angenehm und erträglich zu machen! Sollten Sie sich nicht in einer solchen Gesellschaft glücklich fühlen, wenn sich Ihrem Gedächtnisse bey dem Anblicke eines jeden insbesondere immer ein Meisterzug nach dem andern, eine Schönheit nach der andern, aufdrängt! wenn Sie diesen grossen Gedanken in den Blicken und Mienen des Bildes aufsuchen können? Den sanften Character in dem Bilde eines Graun; den Ernst in Bachs Bilde, und das Feuer im Blicke eines Haydn und Glucks? Ich wenigstens habe meiner kleinen Sammlung tausend stille Freuden zu verdanken⁵.

Note that three of the composers whose portraits seemed so inspiring to Gerber—Bach, Haydn, and Gluck—were, thirty years later, included by Beethoven in his own list in the brief entry in his Tagebuch!

If Beethoven ever collected etchings, engravings, and woodcuts of musicians' portraits we know nothing about it. On the other hand, he did own two *paintings* of musicians. One of these was the portrait of his grandfather, painted in Bonn in 1773 by an obscure artist, Leopold Radoux (Color Plate 1). The other portrait was of himself, painted in Vienna c. 1804 by an amateur artist, Willibrord Joseph Mähler, a friend of the composer (Color Plate 2)⁶. The latter portrait is an elaborately symbolic—indeed, naively symbolic—affair⁷. It seems to have been created with great enthusiasm, but then set aside. Anton Schindler speaks of it disparagingly:

Bemerkenswerth ist, dass nur *drei* Bildnisse, nach der Natur in Oel gemalt, von Beethoven existiren. Das erste [the Mähler portrait] ist ein Kniestück, der Meister, ungefähr im 30. Lebensjahre, sitzend abgebildet; es befindet sich in seiner Familie und ward wegen Unbedeutendheit nicht vervielfältigt⁸.

The notion that the highly symbolic and revelatory Mähler portrait was “unbedeutend” was, I’m sure, fed to Schindler by Beethoven himself. The Mähler portrait was in the apartment where Beethoven lived at the end of his life; but it was hidden away on the back wall of a storage room, where no visitors would ever see it⁹.

The Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather, in contrast, was displayed on a wall in the entry room of that apartment—the first object to be viewed by any person coming to

5 Cramer (footnote 3), II, 963–64.

6 Both of these portraits, following Beethoven’s death, became the property of his nephew, Karl. They are now in the collection of the Museen der Stadt Wien and are exhibited in the Beethoven Museum in the Pasqualati Haus on the Mölcherbastei.

7 A brief summary of the symbolic features in the Mähler portrait is found in my “Exploring Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie* as a Source Used by Beethoven”, in: *The Beethoven Newsletter*, 2 (1987), 1–7 (see pp. 3–5).

8 Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster 1871, facs. 1970), p. 287.

9 Gerhard von Breuning, *Aus dem Schwarzschanerhause* (Vienna 1874; 2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig 1907, facs. 1970), pp. 88–91. The Mähler portrait is, in its symbolic message, a comment on Beethoven’s deafness. Its message is parallel to that of the Heiligenstadt Testament. That famous document was kept from public view and was found concealed among Beethoven’s papers only after his death. The Mähler portrait was similarly concealed from public view.

visit Beethoven. The Radoux portrait, by several accounts, seems to have been one of the composer's most cherished personal possessions.

Early References to the Radoux Portrait

There exist at least six early accounts regarding the Radoux portrait of Beethoven's grandfather. Indeed, one is impressed that so many people who were associated with Beethoven—and at very different periods of his life—found occasion to allude to this painting. Each of these allusions is informative in its own way.

Gerhard von Breuning (1813–1892), in his *Aus dem Schwarzspanierhause*¹⁰, provides an elaborately detailed description of the apartment in which Beethoven spent the last year and a half of his life. This description begins:

Im einfensterigen Eintrittszimmer standen, ausser einigen Sesseln an den Wänden, ein einfacher Speisetisch, rechts an der Wand ein Credenzkasten (meines Erinnerns), oberhalb desselben hing das Oel-Brustbild des—von Beethoven so sehr geliebten—väterlichen Grossvaters Ludwig (jetzt im Besitze der Witwe des Neffen Carl). Es stellt den Grossvater in grünem Pelzcostume, ein Notenheft in der Hand haltend, vor. Es ist dasselbe, welches seiner Zeit in Bonn bei dem Wirthe im Versatz gewesen¹¹ und das einzige Stück, das Beethoven in spätere Zeit aus der elterlichen Verlassenschaft nach Wien nachkommen liess¹².

It was not only in that final apartment where he lived, in the Schwarzspanierstrasse, that Beethoven kept the portrait of his grandfather on prominent display. In 1822–23 he lived in the Kothgasse, where he was on one occasion visited by the young musician Louis Schlösser (1800–1886). Schlösser describes the main living room of Beethoven's apartment as a scene of disarray, in which the only ornamental object was the Radoux portrait of the composer's grandfather.

Nach mehrmaligem, doch vergeblichem Klopfen an die eigentliche Zimmerthüre, trat ich entschlossen ein und befand mich in einer ziemlich geräumigen, aber ganz schmucklosen Stube; ein grosser viereckiger Tisch aus Eichenholz mit verschiedenen Sesseln, auf denen es etwas chaotisch aussah, stand in der Mitte, darauf lagen Schreibhefte und Bleistifte, Notenbogen und Federn, eine Taschenuhr, ein Metronom, ein Hörrohr von gelbem Metall u. dgl. Dinge mehr. An der Wand links vom Eingang stand das Bett mit Musikalien, Partituren und Schreibereien vollauf bedeckt. Nur eines eingerahmten Oelbildes erinnere ich mich; es war das Porträt seines Grossvaters, an dem er bekanntlich mit kindlicher Pietät hing, als des einzigen Ornamentes, das mir auffiel [...]¹³.

In both of these accounts—by Gerhard von Breuning and by Louis Schlösser—mention of the Radoux portrait is coupled with a reference to Beethoven's love and respect for his grandfather, who had been the Hofkapellmeister in Bonn in the years 1761–1773. This same link between the Radoux portrait and composer Beethoven's reverence for his grandfather is found in Schindler's biography.

10 *Ibidem*.

11 At the time of the death of Beethoven's father, Johann, the family apparently owed rent to the landlord, who claimed this portrait as security.

12 von Breuning (footnote 9), p. 88.

13 Louis Schlösser, "Persönliche Erinnerungen an Ludwig van Beethoven", in: *Hallelujah, Zeitschrift für geistliche Musik in Kirche, Haus, Verein, und Schule*, 6 (1885), p. 234.



Color Plate 1



Die Erinnerung an diesen Grossvater hat sich in seinem berühmten Enkel fortan lebendig erhalten, unterstützt durch ein gutes Portrait, in Oel ausgeführt¹⁴.

The Hofkapellmeister Ludwig van Beethoven had died when the composer Ludwig van Beethoven was only three years old. Throughout Beethoven's childhood, however, the Radoux portrait was prominently displayed in the family home in Bonn. We learn about this from two entries in the memoirs of Gottfried Fischer (1780–1864), the simple Bäckermeister in Bonn who in 1838 recorded his boyhood recollections of Beethoven and his family. At the very outset of this manuscript, following a brief description of the apartment where the Beethoven family lived, Fischer has this to say:

Portrait des Herrn Hof Kapellemeister Lutwig van Beethoven in Männliche grösse hinng in einer vergolten Rahm in der mitte des zimmer, links nach der Strass, wo er gegen über rechts sein Clavier stannt, sitzend auf einem Sessel, Pelz, Kleid, überzug, mit schlängere, Sammende Pelz Kappe mit einer goldenen Trutel und eine Roll Nohte in seiner rechte Hannd¹⁵.

A comparison of this description with the painting itself shows Fischer to be inaccurate in a few details; to wit, Beethoven holds the page of music with his left hand, not his right. Nonetheless, when we consider that Fischer was fifty-eight years old when he recorded these memoirs—and had not seen this painting for about forty years—we are impressed that he recalled it even this well. From another primary source, however—Franz Gerhard Wegeler's *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*¹⁶—we learn that Beethoven was fond of telling his boyhood friends about his distinguished grandfather, and calling the Radoux portrait to their attention.

Franz Gerhard Wegeler was one of Beethoven's very closest boyhood friends. Not surprisingly Wegeler's paragraph on the matter yields the most important insights that we have regarding the Radoux portrait and its meaning to the composer Beethoven.

An diesem Grossvater, der, wie gemeldet, zugleich Beethoven's Pathe war, hing der kleine Louis mit der grössten Innigkeit, und so zeitig er denselben auch verlor, blieb bei ihm der frühe Eindruck doch sehr lebendig. Mit seinem Jugendfreunden sprach er gern vom Grossvater und seine fromme und sanfte Mutter, die er weit mehr, als den nur strengen Vater liebte, musste ihm viel vom Grossvater erzählen. Das Bild desselben, vom Hofmaler Radoux verfertigt, ist das Einzige, was er sich von Bonn nach Wien kommen liess und was ihm bis zu seinem Tode Freude machte. Dieser Grossvater war ein kleiner, kräftiger Mann mit äusserst lebhaften Augen und als Künstler vorzüglich geachtet¹⁷.

Franz Wegeler was born in Bonn in 1765 and thus was eight years old when the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven died. Although it is possible that Wegeler, as a boy, had actually met Beethoven's grandfather, it is far more likely that his description of the elderly man, in this passage, resulted from his own close recall of the Radoux portrait. Franz Wegeler, we learn, was keenly interested in art. Gerhard von Breuning tells us that

14 Schindler (footnote 8), p. 1.

15 Gottfried Fischer, *Des Bonner Bäckermeisters Gottfried Fischer Aufzeichnungen über Beethovens Jugend*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg (Bonn, 1971), p. 15. The Fischer memoirs also tell the story of a family celebration to honor the birthday and name day of Beethoven's mother, Maria Magdalena. This party was held in the large room in the apartment, "wo der Grossvater, Hr: Hof Kapellemeister Lutwig v: Beethoven, im Portrait da hinng [...]" (pp. 37–38).

16 Gerhard Wegeler, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Coblenz, 1838 (facs. 1972), p. 8.

17 *Ibidem*.

even when Wegeler was an adolescent he “glowed” with love of knowledge of art and music¹⁸. Beethoven himself later declared to Wegeler, “Aufrichtig, deine Kunstliebe freut mich doch noch sehr”¹⁹. And on one occasion Wegeler even involved Beethoven in the purchase of a painting for him²⁰. Wegeler was five years older than Beethoven, and was a person for whom Beethoven, throughout his entire life, had deep respect. It is quite possible that Wegeler’s keen eye helped the young Beethoven to *see* his grandfather’s portrait with closer awareness of detail.

A Description of the Radoux Portrait

The portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather is signed “Radoux”. This signature, however, is concealed in the lower left area of the painting, in a dark strip between the flower-decorated fabric and one of the pages of music, and is therefore, even in the best reproductions not visible. The presence of this signature seems to have been detected by the young Wegeler who in the passage quoted above refers to the portrait as the work of the “Hofmaler Radoux”.

Very little is known about Leopold Radoux. The name suggests that the man was French; but, in fact, we do not know where he was born, or where he was trained. Archival studies have revealed that Radoux was employed at the Bonn court from 1759 to 1794²¹. He was employed not as a painter, but as a sculptor and woodcarver. During those decades the interior of the Electoral Palace was being redecorated in the French rococo style; and Radoux’s chief contribution to this project was a ceremonial bed in the state apartments. (He is also known to have carved altars for the Kapuzinerkirche in Bonn, and for chapels in the nearby towns of Brühl and Clemensruh zu Poppelsdorf²².)

Of the few works attributed to Leopold Radoux the portrait of the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven is the only painting. From this single canvas, however, it is clear that the sculptor Radoux was an excellent draftsman (the pose of the body in this portrait is quite subtle), and was likewise skilled in handling a brush (the distinctions between velvet, fur, and felt, for example, are all finely expressed).

On the reverse side of the canvas of this painting there is glued an old label with the hand-written information “AETATIS 61/1773”²³. Although it is not known who placed this label here, or when, the man in the portrait does seem to be about sixty years old. Assuming that the information on this label is correct, then this portrait was made the very year of the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven’s death.

Information that would be of great interest—but is lacking—has to do with the relationship between the painter and the sitter. Since this portrait by Leopold Radoux is, as far as we know, unique, one imagines that it was done as a personal favor. Art historian Hugh Honour, in his discussion of late eighteenth-century portraits, remarks that “the best of such works” were achieved when the sitters were “personal friends of the artist”²⁴. This

18 von Breuning (footnote 9), p. 20.

19 Wegeler (footnote 16), p. 26.

20 *Ibidem* and footnote 12, p. 37.

21 Johann Jacob Merlos, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit* (Düsseldorf, 1895; facs. 1966), p. 63.

22 Wilfried Hausmann, *Stadt Brühl* (Berlin, 1977), pp. 16, 18, 50, and 64.

23 For this information I am indebted to Dr. Günter Dürriegl, Director of the Museen der Stadt Wien.

24 Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism* (New York, 1968), p. 89.

matter is of particular interest in this present case since—as we shall discover in due course—the Radoux portrait contains an array of symbolic elements which convey an intensely personal message.

The painting measures 85 × 67.5 cm.; i.e., it is slightly less than life-size. In the setting of a modest living room, this portrait is an imposing presence. This sense of scale can be experienced by viewing the copy of the Radoux portrait²⁵ in one of the larger rooms in the Beethovenhaus in Bonn, spaces in which Beethoven lived as a boy.

Setting. The setting is a dimly lit room. In the background at the right one just barely sees a classical column standing on a carved round base. This may represent an architectural detail in a room in the Electoral Palace (it certainly represents nothing to be found in the modest Beethoven dwelling); or it may be a discreet neo-Classical allusion. (Many an eighteenth-century portrait includes a reference of this sort, to inform the viewer that the sitter is interested in Classical culture). Hofkapellmeister Beethoven is seated at a table or desk, although we do not actually see any item of furniture.

Face. Beethoven's gaze is focused directly at the viewer of this portrait; and, as Wegeler recalled, his eyes are indeed "äusserst lebhaft". His cheeks are quite ruddy; Fischer comments on this: he had "dicke rothe Wanngen"²⁶. This is rather strange for a man sixty years old. Very possibly this is a wine-drinker's *trogne*. The man's right eye shows a puffy upper lid—again, quite possibly the result of wine consumption. It is known that the grandfather Beethoven augmented his income as a musician with a private wine business; he maintained two cellars for his stock; and he trained his son, Johann (Beethoven's father), as a wine-taster²⁷. In the Beethoven household wine was drunk with purpose, and apparently in quantity—devastating quantity in the case of the grandfather's wife and his wine-tasting son, both of whom became alcoholic.

The expression on Beethoven's face is expressed by painter Radoux with rare subtlety. It is haunting in its ambiguity: at once kind, and sad, and determined. The slightly elevated right eyebrow suggests that the man is enquiring about something. The keenness of his gaze then seems to invite the viewer to become involved in his mood of enquiry.

Pose and Gesture. This is a half-length portrait (a "Brustbild"), and the pose of Beethoven's body is delineated with skill. The left hand holds a page of music—one of a confused bunch of pages. The left shoulder is slightly elevated and pulled back; the right shoulder is distinctly lower and is thrust forward; and the weight of the upper body leans slightly on the right elbow. This leaning, however, is not altogether convincing since the forearm moves prominently across the foreground of the composition and is aimed upward, at an angle. The forearm leads to the very prominent right hand. The third, fourth, and fifth fingers of the right hand are curled in, while the index finger points downward toward the righthand corner of the picture.

25 By Toni Bücher, 1969.

26 Fischer (footnote 15), p. 16.

27 *Ibidem*, p. 17.

In the total composition the focus of attention is, to be sure, on Beethoven's face. After that, however, the most prominent feature is the man's pointing right hand. In eighteenth-century portraiture pointing hands are a cliché. They usually are intended to call the viewer's attention to something that is of special importance to the sitter: to a monarch's crown, to the groundplan of a wealthy nobleman's new palace, to a country gentleman's prize-winning horse, to an author's favorite manuscript, to an astronomer's detailed map of the skies, to an art lover's catalogue of his private collection, and so forth. Pointing hands, in the vocabulary of eighteenth-century gestures, are meant to inform us of achievement; and so we must ask ourselves about the meaning of this musician's pointing right hand.

Costume. Beethoven is wearing a stylish octagonal hat of blue velvet with a reddish-brown border²⁸. His white shirt is open at the top, exposing his chest. (The openness of his shirt is accentuated by the two buttons on the one side of the collar, and the two empty buttonholes on the other side.) This touch of *deshabillé* is an extremely common convention in late eighteenth-century French portraiture; it is associated with portraits of "the artist in his studio", "the poet at work", "the litterateur in his library", and so forth²⁹. Beethoven is wearing a bright greenish-blue jacket trimmed with fur. This jacket is decorated with tassels—tassels having come into high fashion in Paris (and elsewhere) in just these years³⁰. In all of these details of costume the sitter has had himself presented *à la mode*.

He is also wearing a very dark purple cape that is draped over his right shoulder and upper right arm. This cape seems to be slipping from his body and reveals a lining that is the same reddish-brown color found in Beethoven's hat.

There are two relationships between Beethoven's costume and his pose and gestures which are suggestive. The right shoulder and upper right arm are concealed under that dark purple cape; and, as a result, the right forearm seems to *emerge* with a certain energy from beneath the cape. The tassels on the sleeve of the right arm, furthermore, are depicted at a slight angle that defies gravity. This slight angling of these tassels lends additional thrust—and emphasis—to the pointing right arm, hand, and index finger.

Accompanying Objects. In this portrait we find two accompanying objects. One of these is, for the most part, extremely obvious; it was recalled, in fact, by both Gottfried Fischer and Gerhard von Breuning in their descriptions of the Radoux portrait. The other object is subdued and inconspicuous.

The obvious object, of course, is that array of pages of music in manuscript, one page flopping over from behind, another page curled up as it is held in Beethoven's left hand.

28 Historians of costume call this an "at-home cap". In the eighteenth century there was a particular vogue for soft, comfortable caps for in-door wear, in a style influenced by the Turkish turban. In England such an item of headwear was known as a Mecklenburg cap during the years after the marriage of Charlotte of Mecklenburg to George III (1761).

29 When this vogue was new it met with resistance. See *Diderot Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, 4 volumes (Oxford, 1957–67), vol. 3, p. 320. Diderot, in his report of the Salon of 1767, speaks sarcastically of Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne's bust of the Baron Charles de Secondat Montesquieu: "Si vous voulez sentir tout l'ignoble [...] jettez les yeux sur le Montesquieu. Il est nue tête, on lui voit le cou et une partie de la poitrine; voilà de goût".

30 C. Häberlin, *Zur Geschichte der Kostüme* (München, n.d.), p. 1077. The French costumes with tassels that are illustrated here are dated 1774, 1778, and 1779.

These pages are a bit of a jumble, but artist Radoux so arranges the composition that a swath of light sweeps across one two-stave system of music. For the viewer, this page of music is upside-down—an irresistible invitation to enquire. In the long history of musicians' portraits the upside-down page of music is a favorite artifice.

When we invert this detail of the painting we discover that this is music for solo voice with an accompanimental bass (*fig. 1*). The text is Italian, with just four words: “se amore, se amore...” The immediate assumption, in view of the fact that this painting was done in 1773, is that this is a snippet from a secular cantata or an aria from an opera (music that is forever dealing with love). The musical notes are not altogether clear, but they make just enough sense—with the rests in the bass line on the weak beats, and the rising sequence in the vocal line—to lend a certain musical and emotional stress to those cryptic words, “if love, if love...”.

This is almost certainly not a musical phrase drawn from some composition by the Kapellmeister himself, since we know that he did not compose³¹. Although it is quite possible that this phrase was lifted from a cantata or an opera by some other composer³², it seems more likely that it was invented by the grandfather. It is possible that these pages of music are included in this portrait merely to identify this man as a musician. On the other hand, pieces of music that are incorporated into paintings most often have some special significance; and so it is reasonable to assume that in this case some additional meaning is intended.

The possibility that this musical manuscript carries some secret message is increased by the fact that in the lower righthand corner of the picture, somewhat in the background, we find a stray page of music, crumpled up. Beethoven seems to have discarded this page and thrown it on the floor behind him.

The other accompanying object in this portrait is hidden in the opposite corner, at the lower left of the composition. None of the early descriptions of this painting mentions this object, for it is easily overlooked. It is a broad band of fabric, with deep red borders, decorated with flowers. These flowers are perhaps embroidered, although Radoux's brushstrokes do not make this altogether clear. The flowers appear, rather, to have been painted on this fabric. Although it is possible that this piece of flower-decorated fabric was included by Radoux just to fill out the corner of his composition, or to add a bit of extra color, given the conventions of the day it is more likely that this accompanying object also has some symbolic meaning.

Tastes in French Portraiture

The Radoux portrait of Beethoven's grandfather wants to be understood in the light of contemporaneous tastes in French portraiture. These are best described in the chapter on portraiture in Philip Conisbee's recent *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France*³³.

31 This fact caused some question at the time he was appointed to his post as Kapellmeister in Bonn. See *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton/New Jersey, 1964), pp. 46–47.

32 Wegeler (footnote 16), p. 8, mentions that one of the Kapellmeister Beethoven's most successful roles, as a bass, was in the comic opera *L'Amore artigiano*, with music by Florian Leopold Gassmann. The musical phrase in the Radoux portrait is not found in that score, at any rate.

33 Philip Conisbee, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca/New York, 1981), Chapter 4, pp. 111–42.



Fig. 1

This was a time in which it was deemed especially important that a portrait should achieve more than the mere recording for posterity what a person looked like. A portrait was expected to comment on a person's role in life. It should reveal that person's achievements or aspirations; and, in doing so, it should even present the sitter as a model of human behavior.

To cite an example: Conisbee analyzes Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's portrait (1787) of *Madame Adelaïde*, one of the daughters of Louis XV (*fig. 2*); in this portrait the sitter is revealed to be herself an artist; and the two works of art that are reproduced internally in the whole composition are there to tell her story:

The princess has drawn in *trompe-l'oeil* relief the posthumous portraits of her father, mother and brother—but these images are present to indicate her extreme devotion to their memory, rather than to show any real talent she may have had as an artist. Indeed, the whole picture is largely designed as a tribute to the late King and his family [...] the principal bas-relief above shows her courage and that of her sisters in approaching the deathbed of Louis XV, who was stricken with smallpox³⁴.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 136 and fig. 112.

Conisbee describes the trend in France towards “portraits which include mild symbolic references to love, transience, vanity and suchlike”. Painters such as Chardin and Greuze “expanded the function of the portrait to express a larger meaning”, producing “an elevated genre painting with a didactic meaning” — and there are even “instances where portraiture was used to embody a moral”³⁵.

Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*

Many of the ideas about portraiture that were current at the time Radoux made his portrait of Beethoven's grandfather are set forth in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, an encyclopedic treatise on aesthetics that was originally published in two volumes in 1771 and 1774³⁶. Although this treatise was probably never seen by either Radoux or the Kapellmeister Beethoven, it is exactly contemporaneous with the portrait we are studying. The Sulzer treatise, furthermore, is in general an accurate mirror of popular aesthetic thought in its time. Here are some relevant excerpts from several of Sulzer's articles.

“Porträt”. “[...] der gute Künstler dieser Gattung ist ein eigentlicher wahrer Seelenmahler”³⁷. Sulzer debates whether it is preferable that the sitter in a portrait be shown in a relaxed and neutral pose, or engaged in some activity that tells a story about that person: “eine historische Stellung” (as in the portrait of Madame Adelaïde, discussed above). “Es kann freylich Fälle geben, wo der wahre Charakter einer Person während einer gewissen Handlung, sich im besten Lichte zeigt; ist dieses, so wähle man in einem solchen Fall eine historische Stellung”³⁸.

“Gebehrden”. On the subject of gestures Sulzer writes at length, for he considers these the principle means through which a painter can express human emotions and specific thoughts. “Keine Worte können weder Lust noch Verdruss, weder Verachtung noch Liebe so bestimmt, so lebhaft, viel weniger so schnell ausdrücken, als die Gebehrden. Darum sind sie der Hauptgegenstand der Künste, die auf das Auge wirken. Der Mahler hat wenig andre Mittel, als dieses, Empfindungen und Gedanken zu erweken [...]”³⁹.

“Nebensachen”. On the subject of “accompanying objects” in a portrait Sulzer again writes at length, beginning, “[Nebensachen] Sind Sachen, die in Werken der Kunst der Hauptsache, wodurch die abgezielte Vorstellung wirklich erweckt wird, noch beygefügt werden”⁴⁰. While warning about the introduction of *Nebensachen* which serve to distract the viewer's attention from the sitter's face in a portrait, Sulzer adds, “Bisweilen scheint es zwar, dass die Nebensachen nothwendig seyen, um den Hauptsachen mehr Zusammenhang oder mehr Klarheit zu geben [...]”⁴¹.

35 *Ibidem*, pp. 137–139.

36 Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* was printed and revised seven times from 1771–74 to 1794, originating as two volumes and eventually becoming a four-volume work with extensive bibliographies and a separate index. A detailed history of this publication is found in the facsimile reprint of the 1794 edition (Hildesheim, 1967), vol. 1, p. xii.

37 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 719a.

38 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 723a.

39 *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 314b.

40 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 515a.

41 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 516a.



Fig. 2

“Sinnbild”. Sulzer begins with this definition of symbol: “Ist ein sichtbares Bild, das ausser der unmittelbaren Vorstellung, die es erweket, noch eine andre allgemeine Bedeutung hat”⁴². One of the challenges for a painter, says Sulzer, is inventing ways to suggest ideas through symbols: “Es ist also in den zeichnenden Künsten eine wichtige Frage, wie man Sinnbilder erfinde, und wie eine besondere Sache zum Sinnbild könne gemacht werden?”⁴³

“Moral; Moralisches Gemähd”⁴⁴. A central theme in Sulzer’s huge treatise is that art should have an inspiring, ennobling influence on the human spirit. He is critical of the vogue for “historical” painting—huge canvases, crowded with people all gesticulating wildly, that narrate mythological, Biblical, or historical situations, and are intended to provide the viewer with some lesson in human behavior. Such works are deemed pretentious by Sulzer, and too imposing to address the ordinary man. Sulzer prefers messages that are communicated in simpler paintings which deal with everyday people who are gripped in situations of moral crisis.

Deciphering the Radoux Portrait

Deciphering the message of a symbolic eighteenth-century painting is a speculative process. It cannot be otherwise, for throughout history artists have been reluctant to “decode” their symbolic works—and quite properly so, for to provide a verbal explanation of a symbol is to suggest that the symbol cannot fulfill its true purpose, which is to communicate *without* words. A symbolic portrait invites the viewer to enquire into the message which the sitter and his artist have set out to convey. Indeed, the mystique of a symbolic portrait lies in the way that it involves the viewer in this process of enquiry.

The following explanation of the meaning of the Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather is, therefore, my own—and is, of course, speculative. I find in this portrait a personal-didactic message set forth in four stages: first, by the flower-decorated band in the lower lefthand corner; second, by the confused cluster of music pages; third, by the dark purple cape; and fourth, by the right arm that thrusts from beneath that cape and leads to the pointing hand.

Stage one. The flower-decorated band with the red borders, half concealed in the lower lefthand corner, represents the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven’s wife, Maria Jospha Poll (c. 1714–1775). The ribbon as a symbol of the beloved is a ubiquitous device of literature, theater, and poetry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One encounters this device in such widely familiar works as Rousseau’s *Confessions* (which was begun in 1775)⁴⁵, Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774)⁴⁶, Beaumarchais’s

42 *Ibidem*, vol. 4, p. 386a.

43 *Ibidem*, vol. 4, p. 386b.

44 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, pp. 414b–416b.

45 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les Confessions* (Paris, 1929), pp. 127–31 (the final episode in Part Two). Rousseau confesses that as a boy he had stolen a ribbon belonging to a woman with whom he was infatuated. He then falsely accused a servant girl of this theft; she then lost her job and could not get a reference that would allow her to obtain a new position. The incident, says Rousseau, was his first lesson in the importance of always telling the truth.

46 When Werther first meets Lotte his eyes are drawn to the pink bow that ornaments her busom (letter of 16

Le Mariage de Figaro (1784)⁴⁷, and, somewhat later, the cycle of poems *Die schöne Müllerin* (1820)⁴⁸ by Wilhelm Müller (the texts used for Schubert's song cycle). In these latter three works, in fact, the symbolic ribbon functions as a sub-plot, ironic in the Beaumarchais play, and, in the novel and the song-cycle, even tragic in its overtones. Well-known poems of the day that are concerned with painted ribbons as symbols of love are Klopstock's "Das Rosenband" (1753), and Goethe's "Mit einem gemahlten Band", which was written in 1771, published in 1775, revised in 1789—and set to music by Beethoven in 1810. Goethe, in his *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811), recalls the circumstances attending the writing of his "Mit einem gemahlten Band" ("To Accompany a Painted Ribbon"):

Gemalte Bänder waren damals eben erst Mode geworden; ich malte ihr [Friederike Oeser] gleich ein paar Stücke und sendete sie mit einem kleinen Gedicht voraus, da ich diesmal länger, als ich gedacht, ausbleiben müsste⁴⁹.

The period that Goethe refers to here, 1771—when "painted ribbons had only just then come into fashion"—is precisely the time when Leopold Radoux did his portrait of Beethoven's grandfather.

The fact that in this portrait of himself the Hofkapellmeister Beethoven should have had his wife alluded to in this manner is strange. According to tradition in portraiture, the representation of a spouse by means of a symbol occurs only when the spouse is deceased⁵⁰. At the time the Radoux portrait was painted, however, Maria Josepha Poll was still alive. On the other hand, some years earlier this woman had fallen victim to alcoholism; and to rescue her from her condition (and to rescue himself and his family), the grandfather Beethoven had put his wife away in an institution. We learn about this from the Fischer memoirs:

[...] sein Ehegemahlinn ein stille gute Frau, die aber dem Trunck so stark ergeben war, womit er

June). In the letter of 28 August, Werther receives a gift from Lotte's fiancé, Albert: a volume of Homer, in which the pink ribbon has been inserted as a bookmark. In Werther's suicide note to Lotte he says that he wants to be buried in the clothes he is wearing—with her pink ribbon in his pocket.

47 The sub-plot of the ribbon is associated with the Countess's flirtation with Cherubin. Cherubin steals the Countess's ribbon; and later, when he injures his hand, the ribbon becomes stained with his blood. Beaumarchais then creates a parallel sub-plot having to do with the Count's infatuation for Suzanne: the sub-plot of the pin, with which the Count also pricks his finger. In the Penguin Classics edition of Beaumarchais, *The Barber of Seville and The Marriage of Figaro*, trans. John Wood (New York, 1964) the plot of the symbolic ribbon is traced on pp. 116–18, 124, 129–30, 136–37, 156, 184–85, and 216; while the plot of the symbolic pin is traced on pp. 184, 189–90, 194–95, and 215.

48 The poet Müller introduces two shifts in the convention. Whereas the symbolic ribbon traditionally belongs to the woman and then comes into the possession of the love-sick young man, in *Die schöne Müllerin* the ribbon belongs to the love-sick young man, who presents it to his beloved. The Müllerin, ironically, cherishes it for its color. Traditionally the symbolic ribbon is pink or red; this ribbon is green—which, to the young man represents Nature, but to the Müllerin suggests the hunter, with whom she is infatuated. Again there are two sub-plots, one having to do with the ribbon itself, the other having to do with its unconventional and symbolic color. The songs involved are nos. 12 ("Pause"), 14 ("Mit dem grünen Lautenbände"), 16 ("Die liebe Farbe"), and 17 ("Die böse Farbe").

49 Goethe's *Werke* (Hamburg, 1955), vol. 9, p. 466.

50 The original convention was to represent the deceased spouse as a portrait within the portrait (a painting on the wall, a picture in a cameo, and such like). Toward the end of the century it became increasingly common to represent the deceased spouse via a symbol, such as a rose, a lonely teacup, or (amusingly enough) a spaniel—the spaniel symbolizing the idea of loyalty to the memory of the deceased.

so viell heimlich Leiden ertragen hat, das er nachher zuletzt auf den Gedanken gekommen war, das er Sie nach Köln in Pangtion gethan und auch da starb⁵¹.

Stage two. The second symbolic area in this portrait is the music in manuscript that Beethoven holds before him. This is not a volume of pages bound together. It is, in fact, a jumble of pages, with some of the corners curled over, and with musical staves running at odd angles. One's first impression is that the sense of confusion here is the result of ineptness on the part of the artist—but we should recall that Leopold Radoux was a sculptor and woodcarver who specialized in the intricacies and contortions of rococo design, and was in fact a very competent draftsman. This jumble of music pages is, from the artist's standpoint, depicted with skill. My own sense of the situation is that this somewhat confused group of manuscript pages constitutes an internal composition in this portrait, and was devised by the musician Beethoven—the sitter himself—and was intended to convey a message.

Standing out from the deliberate disarray is that narrow strip of paper, high-lighted, with two staves of music—a bass line and a vocal part—which sets forth (albeit upside-down) those clearly legible but cryptic words “se amore, se amore...” In a period somewhat before Hofkapellmeister Beethoven's generation the most common format for Italian manuscripts of cantatas or arias was a long narrow volume with just four staves: two systems, each with a bass line and a vocal line. Paper cut to this size was known as *carta d'arietta*⁵². It was a format preferred by singers who performed in salon settings because pages of this size would not block the audience's view of their faces (and we should recall that the man in this painting was an admired bass). What we have in this jumble of pages, then, is a single folio of *carta d'arietta* which has been horizontally cut down the middle. For the singer of Beethoven's time (or the scholar of our time) who was accustomed to this ubiquitous four-stave format of the Seicento vocal repertory the symbolism is patent: half of this man's world has been cut away. The symbolism in these pages of musical manuscript seems then to be extended in that crumpled folio of music that we can just barely discern in the background, on the floor, near the base of that classical column. As I view it, the half-missing page of *carta d'arietta*, the text “se amore, se amore...” (in this case, doubtless a question), and the crumpled, discarded folio are a comment on the singer Beethoven's loss of his wife to alcoholism, and his painful decision to put her away.

(Here is an example of what Sulzer was talking about when he asked, “Es ist also in den zeichnenden Künsten eine wichtige Frage, wie man Sinnbilder erfinde, und wie eine besondere Sache zum Sinnbild könne gemacht werden?”⁵³)

51 Fischer (footnote 15), pp. 16–17.

52 Several volumes in the narrow “*carta d'arietta*” format are listed in the catalogue of the music library of the Bonn court which was made in 1723–24. See Sieghard Brandenburg, “Die kurfürstliche Musikbibliothek in Bonn und ihre Bestände im 18. Jahrhundert”, in: *Beethoven-Jahrbuch*, 8 (1971–72), pp. 7–47. On p. 13 there are listed three items: 72, “*Ariette di Venetia*”, 73, “*Ein buch mit welschen arien Con Basso Continuo*”, and 74, “*Zwey kleine d. gleichen büchlein*”.

53 In the period 1640–1700 Italian secular vocal music (cantatas and collections of arias) was almost never published. This repertory survives in many hundreds of manuscript volumes, most of which employ this narrow four-stave format. Few facsimiles have ever been published; but see my thematic catalogue of the cantatas of Alessandro Stradella, *The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series 4* (1967), vol. 1 (Reliable Attributions), facsimiles 12, p. 35; 19, p. 47; and 20, p. 48.

These symbolic devices speak not so much of Maria Josepha Poll's life tragedy as they speak of the Kapellmeister's own life tragedy. The spouse of an alcoholic is always a victim. How lingeringly painful this experience was for this man is suggested, again, by a story told by Theodor Fischer, who describes a wedding ceremony in Bonn on 24 June 1761:

Wo Herr Hof Kapellemeister v: Beethoven bey der Trauung dieser zween junge Ehepaar Thränen vergossen, wie mann ihn nachher darüber befragt, das er geantwortet, das er über die zween jungen Ehepaar er darüber auch an seine Trauung und Heyrahts Laage getacht hätt, das ihn sehr gerührt hätt und gross Antheil genommen⁵⁴.

(At this point the man was only forty-nine years old).

Much of the elder Beethoven's pain would have come from guilt. We know that the ready access to alcohol does not of itself cause a person to become an alcoholic (there must be physical and psychological predispositions); still, the wine that turned Beethoven's wife into an alcoholic came from his own cellars. We also know that a spouse is powerless over an alcoholic's urgent need to drink. Having no other recourse, therefore, Beethoven's wisest and kindest choice was to commit his wife to an institution—but he could not have done so without an overwhelming sense of guilt, and a concomitant need to have the world understand the firm but desperate act he had taken. If my interpretation of the Radoux portrait is correct, this life crisis, and Beethoven's manner of coping with it, haunted this man 'til the end of his life.

Stage three. I assume that the dark purple cape concealing Beethoven's right shoulder and upper arm likewise has symbolic meaning, and represents a dark period in his life—that period, to be sure, associated with his having to cope with his wife's alcoholism. There may also be significance in the fact that the cape is thrown over only one shoulder, and seems to be slipping from the man's body⁵⁵.

Stage four. The salient expressive device in this portrait is the right arm, with the angled tassels, thrusting upward from beneath the dark cape and leading to the pointing right hand. One recall's Sulzer's remarks about *Gebärden*: "Darum sind sie der Hauptgegenstand der Künste, der auf das Auge wirken kann. Der Mahler hat wenig andre Mittel, als dieses, Empfindungen und Gedanken zu erweken [...]"⁵⁶.

Although it is impossible to state with certainty the meaning of this gesture, I should like to submit the following range of interpretation. One possibility is that Beethoven's index finger is pointing to the crumpled, discarded page of music in the lower righthand corner of the painting—meaning that the man is thus calling attention to his difficult decision to institutionalize his alcoholic wife. (We know that the composer Beethoven, in the Heiligenstadt Testament, found it important to tell posterity about the agony of his deafness.)

54 Fischer (footnote 15), p. 23.

55 For further remarks regarding this interpretation see footnote 70.

56 See above, footnote 39.

Another possibility is that the thrusting arm and pointing finger are a declaration of the man's emergence from that dark, critical period in his life, with the message that the Kapellmeister Beethoven has survived his life crisis and has moved forth in life with a sense of new energy and clear direction. (This also finds a parallel in the composer Beethoven's Heiligenstadt Testament.)

The interpretation that I prefer, however, is that the man in the portrait is pointing in the general direction of that group of music pages, which now function as a symbol of music itself. The man seems to be saying that he has coped with his life crisis by directing his new energy, and his clarity of direction, into his work as a musician. (Once again, we know that this was the attitude cultivated by the composer Beethoven as he was dealing with the crisis of his loss of hearing.)

Whatever the specific intent here, this forceful gesture carries a message of action. This message reflects a theme that is recurrent in the writings of the day. Sulzer, in 1771, in his article "Künstler", has this to say: "Man wird in der Geschichte der Künstler fast durchgehends finden, dass vorzüglich grosse Künstler auch die grösste Arbeitsamkeit gehabt haben"⁵⁷. He gives an example of the dancer who is caught up in "dem grössten Feuer der Thätigkeit"—to the degree that "er sich selbst vergisst"⁵⁸.

The idea of a person "losing himself" in "the fire of activity" is mentioned by Sulzer only in passing. But this theme of "Tätigkeit" was to become a theme beloved by Goethe. It emerges in even some of his first major works: to wit, in *Wilhelm Meister*, 1785, Goethe states: "Tätig zu sein ist des Menschen erste Bestimmung [...]"⁵⁹, and "[...] das Erste und Letzte am Menschen sei Tätigkeit, und man könne nichts tun, ohne die Anlage dazu zu haben, ohne den Instinkt, der uns dazu treibe"⁶⁰.

In the Radoux portrait the function of symbolic gestures and accompanying objects is amply demonstrated: they tease us to enquire about the circumstances in the life of the sitter. One recalls Franz Wegeler's paragraph in which he talks about the Radoux portrait⁶¹. In that same paragraph he also tells us about the child Beethoven's curiosity regarding his musician grandfather, his frequent requests that his mother inform him about the man in this painting, and his fondness, then, of telling his friends about his admirable grandfather.

At the end of the eighteenth century this is precisely the influence that a portrait of an ancestor was intended to have on people; to wit:

Zu dem allen kommt noch, dass diese Mählerey ein sehr kräftiges Mittel ist, die Bande der Hochachtung und Liebe, nebst allen andern sittlichen Beziehungen zwischen uns und unsern Vorältern, und den daher entstehenden heilsamen Wirkungen auf die Gemüther so zu unterhalten, als wenn die Verstorbenen bisweilen wirklich noch unter uns säßen. [...] ein Porträt bey nahe eben so starken Eindruck auf den Menschen machen kann, als die Person selbst⁶².

These reflections, by Sulzer, were published in 1774, the year following the creation of

57 Sulzer (footnote 36), vol. 3, p. 104a.

58 *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 101b.

59 Goethe's *Werke* (footnote 49), vol. 7, p. 415.

60 *Ibidem*, p. 520.

61 See above, footnote 17.

62 Sulzer (footnote 36), vol. 3, p. 720a.

the Radoux portrait of Beethoven's grandfather. Sulzer's words are virtually prophetic in this case, for the Radoux portrait seems indeed to have assumed "a healing influence" on Beethoven's spirits.

The Radoux Portrait as an Influence on the Composer Beethoven

On 29 June 1801 Beethoven (in Vienna) wrote a letter to his trusted friend Wegeler (in Bonn)⁶³. Among the hundreds of surviving Beethoven letters this one leaps out in importance, for this is Beethoven's first written confession of the ominous fact that he is having trouble with his hearing.

The letter of 29 June 1801 contains many striking similarities to the Heiligenstadt Testament, which was written some fifteen months later—so many similarities, in fact, that it is almost an unintended first draft of that later, famous declaration to posterity. Beethoven's explanation of his awareness of his hearing problem, his description of the tormenting experience of not being able to perceive soft sounds, his despair over the inability of medical doctors to come to his rescue, his poignant remarks about withdrawing from society—these same ideas appear in both documents, in much the same sequence, and often with almost identical phraseology⁶⁴.

In the letter of 29 June 1801, after Beethoven has unburdened himself to his friend Wegeler on the matter of his hearing problem, the subject abruptly shifts. We soon encounter, in quick succession, four remarks having to do with paintings, portraits, and art—things Beethoven almost never mentions elsewhere in his correspondence. First, Beethoven informs Wegeler that he has acquired for him a painting (*Antiochus und Stratonike*)⁶⁵, done by Heinrich Friedrich Füger, the director of the Art Academy in Vienna⁶⁶, and will ship it to him in Bonn. (It is clear that some prior communication had

63 Wegeler (footnote 16), pp. 22–28 (with Wegeler's footnotes on pp. 28–38).

64 These two documents are best discussed in Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977), pp. 111–25 (where the Heiligenstadt Testament is included in translation on pp. 116–18).

65 Although the whereabouts of this painting is unknown, a sketch exists in the Museen der Stadt Wien, with the title *Erisastratus und Stratonice*. This Neo-Classical "historisches Gemähd" deals with a story told by Plutarch. See Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. John Dryden, rev. Arthur Hugh Clough (New York, n.d.), pp. 1095–96. At the point in the story depicted in this painting the young Antiochus is resigned to the awareness that his obsessive longing for his stepmother, Stratonice, is immoral and hopeless. He decides to commit suicide by starving himself to death—but is rescued from this self-destructive course by the wise physician Erisastratus. Wegeler probably became aware of this painting during his exile to Vienna in 1794 (see Wegeler, footnote 16, p. xii). Himself a student of medicine, Wegeler was presumably drawn to this Füger painting because of the central figure of the historically famous physician Erisastratus. One is struck by the fact that this painting, based on a story from Plutarch's *Lives*, is mentioned in Beethoven's letter of 29 June 1801, where the composer declares, "Plutarch hat mich zu der Resignation geführt".

66 Walter Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien* (Vienna 1967), pp. 46–47 and 62–63. Füger was the Vice-Director of Painting and Sculpture, 1783–95, and became the Director of the Academy, 1795–1806. As an administrator he was an advocate of Neo-Classicism, his principal model being Jacques-Louis David. A characteristic work by Füger is his large canvas *Die Ermordung Julius Cäsars* (undated) in the Museum der Stadt Wien. In this scene there are twenty figures, many of whom are gesticulating wildly. The central figure is Julius Caesar himself, who is about to be stabbed by his friend Brutus. As Caesar falls back in utmost horror, he extends his arm, with his hand bent upwards—the conventional gesture of shock and rejection. See p. 104 below for a reference to a use of this same conventional gesture in the Mähler portrait of Beethoven.

occurred between Wegeler and Beethoven on this matter.) Second, Beethoven adds that remark, “Aufrichtig, deine Kunstliebe freut mich doch noch sehr”. Third, Beethoven “begs” Wegeler to send him the Radoux portrait of his grandfather, “sobald als möglich mit dem Postwagen”. (Again, there must have been some earlier communication between the two men on this subject, as well.) And fourth, in exchange for this favor, Beethoven promises to send Wegeler an engraved portrait of himself, newly published by Cappi, and distributed by Artaria⁶⁷.

What is intriguing about all of this is the timing. Just as Beethoven is coming to grips with his encroaching deafness, he begs his friend Wegeler to send him the portrait of his grandfather that had been such a presence in the household of his family when he was a boy. Very likely he sensed that this portrait could—to borrow words from Beethoven’s later *Tagebuch*—“promote [his] capacity for endurance”.

A comparison of Beethoven’s letter to Wegeler, 29 June 1801, and the Heiligenstadt Testament, 6 October 1802, is revealing. In the earlier statement Beethoven’s response to the crisis of his advancing deafness is to “curse his existence” and to seek strength in the wisdom of classical antiquity—to read Plutarch. “Plutarch hat mich zu der Resignation geführt”. (Plutarch, one notes, is the source of the story of Antiochus und Stratonike, leading us to assume that Wegeler also read Plutarch⁶⁸.)

By the time of the Heiligenstadt Testament Beethoven’s despair has reached a point where he has contemplated suicide. In the interim, of course, Beethoven had taken possession of the Radoux portrait of his grandfather. In his secret document to posterity he no longer speaks of Plutarch and of resignation; to the contrary, he focuses on the new rescuing force in his life, his music: “Solche Ereignisse brachten mich nahe an Verzweiflung, es fehlte wenig, und ich endigte selbst mein Leben. — Nur sie, die Kunst, sie hielt mich zurück!”

It would be too extreme, of course, to claim that the Radoux portrait was the catalytic influence that brought about Beethoven’s shift of outlook, from passive resignation to a new focus on “Tätigkeit”. It does seem apparent, however, that the composer’s wish to bring this cherished symbolic image into his living quarters was the result of his desperate need, at this critical point in his life, for every avenue of spiritual support.

Parallels between the Radoux Portrait and the Mähler Portrait

Further evidence that Beethoven understood the portrait of his grandfather to carry a message about coping with a life crisis via “Tätigkeit” is found in the portrait of himself that he commissioned from his friend Willibrord Joseph Mähler just three or four years after his acquisition of the Radoux painting. The Mähler portrait contains a complex maze of symbolic details having to do with Beethoven’s Fourth Piano Concerto, the “Pastoral” Symphony, and the C Minor Symphony—the three principal works of the enormous Akademie of 22 December 1808 at the Theater-an-der-Wien⁶⁹. (This was a concert that was five years in the planning.)

67 H. C. Robbins Landon, *Beethoven* (New York, 1970), fig. 80, p. 124.

68 See above footnote 65.

69 A detailed study of the Mähler portrait is much needed. For an initial exploration of this painting see my article referred to in footnote 7.

In the Mähler portrait, however, the central message is biographical—or, more accurately, autobiographical, for in situations such as this it is the sitter who not only commissions the portrait, but who guides, obviously, the symbolic plan.

Between the two portraits of the Ludwigs van Beethoven Senior and Junior there are various subtle parallels which suggest that the one served as the model for the other⁷⁰. In the portrait of Beethoven Senior there is that dark cape with a reddish-brown lining, which seems to be slipping from the man's shoulder. In the portrait of Beethoven Junior we find an even darker cape which has fallen from the man's shoulders completely. It reveals a flash of scarlet lining, just at the small of Beethoven's back⁷¹. (Red, throughout the history of color symbolism, is associated with intense emotions: death, love, inspiration, and so forth.) The cape covers the lower part of the man's body; but his right leg, wearing a riding boot, emerges from under the cape, and is positioned in such a way as to suggest that Beethoven is about to leap up from his seated position, and stride forth⁷².

In the Radoux portrait Beethoven Senior is holding in his left hand those pages of music which, as we have observed, are doubtless meaningful at the private level, but

70 Alessandra Comini, in: *The Changing Images of Beethoven* (New York, 1987), pp. 34–35, senses that the Radoux portrait “might be considered the inspiration for the Mähler picture”. She adds, “[...] the grandson's own portrait in oil must have seemed to Beethoven a fitting companion for the worthy Ludwig van Beethoven, the elder”.

71 I assume that the capes found in these two portraits have symbolic meaning; but this assumption requires comment, since this is not a general convention of the time. (Garments that fall away from bodies in a revealing manner are common in the history of the nude, in both sculpture and painting—though this has no direct relevance in the present case). In the present case I suspect that we are dealing with what Sulzer was talking about when he spoke of the challenge to painters of inventing symbols that would communicate ideas (see p. 96 above, with footnote 43). The idea of using a cape, in a portrait, to comment somehow on the tragic circumstances in the life of the sitter is indeed inventive. In the situations at hand the device of the symbolic cape has to do with communication between Beethoven and his small circle of friends from the Rhineland: Franz Wegeler, Stephan von Breuning, and Willibrord Mähler (who came from the Rhineland, and was introduced to Beethoven, in Vienna, by their mutual friend Stephan von Breuning). The most intriguing evidence for this hypothesis is found in the portrait of Stephan von Breuning's first wife, Julie von Breuning, née Vering (1791–1809) which was painted by Mähler (reproduced in Robbins Landon [footnote 67], fig. 143, p. 226).

Julie von Breuning was an excellent pianist, and she and Beethoven played four-hand music together. She and her husband, and Beethoven, and Mähler, were all close friends. Julie died, very suddenly, at the age of eighteen, when she and Stephan had been married only eleven months. The portrait of her that was done by Mähler dates, I believe, from shortly after her early death, and is a comment on that tragedy. In this portrait the girl is depicted in the conventional role of Flora, goddess of the spring, striding forth, adorned with flowers. Surrounding the figure of Julie/Flora, however, is a bizarre, unnatural garment—not a cape, but a shawl. The color of this shawl is a spectral greenish-grey. At one end of the shawl the girl cradles a bouquet of roses. As the shawl begins to circle the human figure it gradually fills with stars. As Julie tosses the shawl into the air with her right hand, it kinks strangely. It then sweeps over her head, and flutters downward—downward toward a peculiar area in the background, where blue sky has filled with white clouds, and these white clouds then descend into an area of total gloom. This encircling shawl in the Mähler portrait of his friend Julie von Breuning can only be a symbolic comment on the tragic early death of Stephan's teen-age bride. What antecedents exist for this private symbolic invention? The cape in the Mähler portrait of Beethoven, done just a few years before; and the dark cape in Beethoven's cherished portrait of his grandfather.

72 This pose represents a convention observable in Paris in the generation before, in sculpture primarily. The convention has to do with the “culte des grands hommes”. See G. de Saint-Aubin's “Projets pour les statues des grands hommes”, in: *Diderot Salons* (footnote 29), p. 300, and fig. 165. The convention is described at length in Judith Colton, “From Voltaire to Buffon: Further Observations on Nudity, Heroic and Otherwise”, in: *Art, the Ape of Nature* (New York, 1981), pp. 531–48.

which simultaneously are a Sinnbild representing music itself. In the Mähler portrait Beethoven Junior, with his left arm and hand, is drawing forth a lyra-guitar. The lyra-guitar was a voguish instrument of the day, one which was viewed as a modern equivalent of the Classical lyre, the lyre of Apollo or of Orpheus⁷³. It, too, was a Sinnbild representing music itself.

In the Radoux portrait Beethoven Senior thrusts his right arm forth from under the dark cape and points his index finger in an urgent manner which (as we have speculated) communicates the idea of action. In the Mähler portrait Beethoven Junior likewise thrusts his right arm forward—and spreads out his entire right hand, as though to say “Halt!”. This particular gesture belongs to a “family” of expressive Gebärden in the latter half of the eighteenth century: gestures that involved outstretched arms and upraised hands. The basic gesture could be inflected in various ways; but it always expressed shock, or opposition, or rejection⁷⁴.

I interpret the composite message of these symbolic elements in the Mähler portrait to be a visual statement of the central message of the Heiligenstadt Testament. The arresting gesture of the right arm and hand has to do with Beethoven’s rejection of the thought of suicide as a solution to despair. The dark cape that has fallen from his shoulders represents the shedding of despair. The energetic pose of the body depicts the decision to rise above crisis with increased activity in life. The left hand that draws forth the lyra-guitar represents the man’s determination to compose music.

That message regarding the healing influence of Tätigkeit that had been projected in the Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather is thus declared anew in the Mähler portrait of the composer himself. Again the best contemporary spokesman for this theme was Goethe. Only a few years before the Mähler portrait was done, Goethe published his *Poleophron und Neoterpe*, 1801, in which he states, “Die Tätigkeit ist, was den Menschen glücklich macht”⁷⁵. In the second book of *Wilhelm Meister*, in 1829, Goethe was to expand on this conviction: “Seelenleiden, in die wir durch Unglück oder eigne Fehler geraten, sie zu heilen vermag der Verstand nichts, die Vernunft wenig, die Zeit viel, entschlossene Tätigkeit hingegen alles”⁷⁶. At the end of his life Goethe proclaimed that “activity” was nothing less than a redeeming force: “Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, den können wir erlösen” (*Faust*, Part Two, 1832)⁷⁷.

The conviction that a human being can rescue himself from *Seelenleiden* by addressing himself to *Tätigkeit* (borrowing terms from Goethe) is expressed in the Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather; it is stated in the Heiligenstadt Testament; and it is again expressed, symbolically, in the Mähler portrait of the composer himself. What is truly important for history is that, just as Beethoven commissioned the Mähler portrait, he stood on the threshold of the most awesomely creative period of his entire life.

73 An interesting comment on the vogue for the lyra-guitar is found in “Einige Worte über die neue französische Lyra (Lyre-Gitarre)”, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (19 August 1801), pp. 786–89, where the anonymous author declares, “So ist dieser modische Sinn [...] ein baarer Gewinn für Kultur und Geschmack”.

74 See footnote 66.

75 Goethes *Werke* (footnote 49), vol. 5, p. 305.

76 *Ibidem*, vol. 8, p. 281.

77 *Ibidem*, p. 359.

“The path from stress to victory”

Fascinating as these two portraits are, what interests us most is Beethoven’s music. Do all of these iconographical, symbolic, autobiographical, philosophical considerations have anything to reveal about Beethoven’s music?

When scholars seek to describe the basic characteristics of Beethoven’s music, again and again they arrive at such expressions as “joy through suffering” (Romain Rolland), “tension and triumph” (Joseph Kerman), “crisis and creativity” (Maynard Solomon), or “the path from stress to victory” (Michael Steinberg). Michael Steinberg, in describing “the path from stress to victory” in Beethoven’s music, makes the perceptive comment, “the victory is diminished if we have not truly experienced the stress”⁷⁸. To this I would add, the more keenly we understand the elements of stress in Beethoven’s life—and his own thought processes in coping with that stress—the more alert we can become to the autobiographical dimensions in Beethoven’s music.

The autobiographical impulse in Beethoven’s music has long been acknowledged. No one declared it better than Beethoven’s art-loving friend Franz Wegeler, who in 1845 provided a *Nachtrag* to his *Biographische Notizen*, and concluded it with these thoughts:

Denn in Beethoven’s Werken lebt seine ganze Seele; er hat seine Freuden und Leiden hineingelegt. Sie sind seine eigentliche Biographie, die wahrste und unvergängliche Geschichte dessen, was er erstrebt und gethan, geschrieben für alle Völker und Zeiten⁷⁹.

Two works that exemplify the musical “path from stress to victory” are the “Pastoral” Symphony and the C Minor Symphony. (Basil Deane aptly speaks of these as “twin symphonies”⁸⁰.) The “Pastoral” Symphony’s “Scene by the Brook” is a *Gespräch* between Beethoven and the goldfinch—and the trio of the nightingale, quail, and cuckoo—in which the birds prophecy Beethoven’s deafness⁸¹. The Andante con moto of the C Minor

78 Michael Steinberg, “Writing about Beethoven”, in: *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics* (Detroit, 1980), pp. 16–23. The sentence quoted is found on p. 23.

79 Wegeler (footnote 16), in the *Nachtrag zu den biographischen Notizen* (Coblenz, 1845), p. 30.

80 *The Beethoven Reader*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (New York, 1971), pp. 300–01.

81 In the exposition Beethoven expresses his raptured response to the scene by the brook (measures 1–6), while attendant birds chirp in response (measures 7–12). In the development section Beethoven hears the song of the goldfinch (the “Goldammer”) and quotes the first measure of Vivaldi’s charming flute concerto “Il Gardellino” – “The Goldfinch”, op. 10, no. 3 (measures 58–61). Stage by stage, however, as the tonality moves from the bright field of G major to E-flat major to G-flat major, and ultimately to the subdued and rare key of C-flat major, the goldfinch’s song is lost to the ear—symbolic of Beethoven’s loss of hearing. The retransition, with its radiant enharmonic transformation (measures 80–85), excites ecstatic chirpings from the birds (measures 86–90). With the return to B-flat major (the recapitulation, measures 91–94) the song of the Vivaldian “Gardellino” surges forth anew, in a trio of voices: bassoon, clarinet, and first violin. In the coda (measures 129–32 and 133–36) the idea of a trio of bird-voices assumes ornithological realism: the nightingale, the quail, and the cuckoo. These bird songs carry an array of traditional meanings from Germanic folk culture: the ever-lamenting nightingale, the wide-rangingly vocative quail, and the ever-warning cuckoo. More important, these three birds become agents of Greco-Roman ornithomancy, with all of its fondness for prophetic warnings that are cryptic, even ironically self-contradictory. The rhythmic pattern of the three bird calls at the conclusion of the “Scene by the Brook” in the “Pastoral” Symphony is long-long-long-short—a cryptic reversal of the short-short-short-long “Fate” motive which permeates the C Minor Symphony. In sum, the progressive message of the birds in this composition is a prophecy of Beethoven’s fated deafness. The “Scene by the Brook” is a reflection of what Sulzer, in his article “Landschaft”, describes as a “redende Scene” (vol. 3, p. 148a).

Symphony is a *Selbstgespräch* on the subject of the several routes to coping with deafness, in which the conclusion has to do with *Tätigkeit*⁸². The very earliest sketches for these “twin symphonies” with their two autobiographical dialogues date from the end of 1804—which is, to be sure, that same period when Beethoven acquired the Radoux portrait of his grandfather, wrote the Heiligenstadt Testament, and commissioned the Mähler portrait of himself.

The messages found in the Radoux portrait, the Heiligenstadt Testament, the Mähler portrait, the “Pastoral” Symphony, and the C Minor Symphony are all basically the same: all are comments on “the path from stress to victory”.

Conclusion

The musical composition that is a statement of autobiography was to become a commonplace in the nineteenth-century. This favorite Romantic concept perhaps has some roots in late eighteenth-century music; but if so, these roots seem very tentative. They are, at any rate, still unexplored. In the late eighteenth century, on the other hand, the concept of a work of art that is a statement of autobiography was altogether common—common, that is, in the realms of literature and portraiture. In literature an important new genre was the *Künstler-Roman*, the novel based on the author’s personal experience. A milestone in this genre was Goethe’s ragingly popular *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), in which, between the lines, the novelist talks about himself. We do not know that Beethoven read *Werther*; but most people in his generation did.

In the whole field of artworks in the late eighteenth century which were intended to communicate personal messages, painted portraits set the pace. They were all the rage—already by the middle of the century. What examples were known to Beethoven again cannot be documented—with the one exception of the Radoux portrait of his grandfather. That single example, however, is all that Beethoven needed to know (and all that we need to know), to understand how a portrait can serve as an intimate revelation of a human being’s journey on “the path from stress to victory”.

The Radoux portrait of Beethoven’s grandfather is, from the art historian’s point of view, no masterpiece. Nonetheless, I submit, it is a peculiarly important painting. Radoux may have been an insignificant artist; but yet he was skillful, and was aware of the conventions of his day. This portrait, in its use of pose, symbolic *Nebensachen*, and expressive *Gebehrden* does everything by the book. (If my interpretation of the symbolic

82 The Andante con moto of Beethoven’s C Minor Symphony reflects many ideas found in Sulzer’s article “Selbstgespräch”. This unique musical monologue proposes, questions, and debates the several problematic routes to dealing with a life crisis—and finally arrives at a resolution. The opening melody for the ‘cellos and violas, in A-flat major (measures 1–22), speaks of serenity. The brief fortissimo passage in C major (measures 80–86) quotes the “Fate” motive—and speaks of courage (anticipating the C major effusions in the final movement of the symphony). Interspersed, again and again (measures 74–79, and 87–98), are hesitant and questioning passages which cast these emotions in doubt. The debate is pursued, and seems to find resolution in measures 184–95, where the “serene” A-flat melody is proclaimed with the full, “courageous” sonorities of the C major material...; but this “resolution” is again cast in doubt (measures 195–204). At measure 205 the “debate” shifts into a new gear, with music marked “più mosso”. If ever a specification of a stepped-up rhythmic pace in music has carried an extra-musical message, it is here—and it carries the message of *Tätigkeit*. The two slow movements of the F Major and C Minor Symphonies are thus truly a pair. In the first, Beethoven receives from nature’s birds the message of his fated deafness; in the second, Beethoven communicates to posterity his own message of how he was able to cope with that Fate.

meaning of the dark cape is accurate, the Radoux portrait is even rather inventive.) The result is a work that achieves, perfectly, the goal of portraiture in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In the words of Sulzer (1774) Radoux proved himself to be “ein eigentlicher, wahrer Seelenmahler”, who, while capturing the features of his subject, could simultaneously reveal the spirit of the man; in the words of art historian Conisbee (1981) he produced “an elevated genre painting with a didactic meaning”.

The peculiar importance of the Radoux portrait lies in the fact that it was so cherished by the composer Beethoven. Beethoven became a student of this painting. This painting taught the child Beethoven a particularly keen respect for his musician grandfather. It induced him to honor his grandfather as a family figure of authority—in a family where the usual authority figure, the father, was weak to begin with, then became weaker and weaker as alcohol cut him down⁸³. Just as the Kapellmeister Beethoven had been a victim of his wife’s alcoholism, the young composer Beethoven became a victim of his father’s alcoholism. Did the young man understand the painful-but-courageous message in his grandfather’s portrait? He certainly was in a position to understand that message.

The early crisis in Beethoven’s life had to do with the family history of alcoholism. His own personal crisis became that story of his own: deafness. The lesson he had learned from his grandfather—taught to him by the Radoux portrait—was that a life crisis can be survived, especially by the human being who focuses his energy on *Tätigkeit*.

The Hofkapellmeister Ludwig van Beethoven, at the end of his life, sought to communicate to posterity the message of his own journey on “the path from stress to victory”—and he did so in this portrait. His grandson, the composer Beethoven—in a great leap in art—then sought to communicate to posterity his own journey on “the path from stress to victory”—and he did this in his music.

83 Solomon (footnote 64), on pp. 7–10, 15–19, and 29–32, explores the conflict between Beethoven’s attitudes toward his grandfather and his father—and the role that alcoholism played in that conflict.

Music in Carol Popp de Szathmary's Paintings

Anca Florea

List of Illustrations together with a Catalogue
of the Works with Musical Subject Matter
by Carol Popp de Szathmary (1812–1887)

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- Fig. 2 *The Kobsa Player of the Ardennes*, pencil and watercolor, 16.2 × 12 cm. Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, inv. 13360. – Photo: Cabinet of Engravings, Library of the Romanian Academy
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Introduction

The Romanian artistic milieu in the mid-nineteenth century was graced by the appearance of a rather original character: Carol Popp de Szathmary. He was of a "complex, attractive, buoyant nature, inclined towards a refined life of luxury as were many other Romantics of his stock. But he was, moreover, a practical man of initiative, highly interested in applied sciences, curious to know remote parts of the world and peoples belonging to primitive cultures or to advanced civilizations"¹.

There are certain elements in Szathmary's personality, which remind one of other contemporary literary figures; with his free spirit, his restlessness, and his impetuous and dreamy character he very much resembles Romantic artists such as Byron and Hugo, Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner. On the other hand, Szathmary's unique versatility as an artist rests distinctly apart from the aforementioned group.

He was attracted simultaneously by watercolor, drawing, lithography, painting and photography, equally skilled in all, and left thousands of works—completed or as sketches only.

There is something inexplicable in the indifference of his art-loving contemporaries towards Szathmary's drawing, and even towards his charming water colours, all so accomplished, so vivid in expression, that they can be considered masterpieces of the genre. His photographs too were merely recognized as documents of their time, although everything about them, their composition, a well balanced and suggestive distribution of light, as well as the choice of subject matter make them works of art.

It was Szathmary's merit to have introduced to the world of art pictorial themes which had so far been little approached. He treated subjects from the world of the circus, street artists, and prostitutes with a keen eye for reality far from moralizing intentions. To him everything that was expressive or interesting as a human document was worth being tackled. Szathmary felt at home in the motley scenery of markets, with thousands of carts, pubs, and stalls, and among the noisy mob of fairs—especially the Mosi (a traditional Fun Fair).

George Oprescu, the distinguished and learned art historian, was intrigued by Szathmary's originality as a man and as a painter, and he dedicated monographs and articles to him. Some Romanian art critics were able to single out Szathmary's characteristic features, and particularly his special position within the framework of the Romanian fine arts. In response to the increased interest, Ion Muslea published in 1929 *A Transylvanian Album of Painter Szathmary, in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures* (1929). More recently, particularly Arvay Arpad (1972), and Ana-Maria Covrig (1976) have written about Szathmary^{1a}.

Szathmary is known to have been born in Cluj. Members of his family wrote down both 1811 and 1813² as his birth year. The spelling of his name is also uncertain; as an

1 George Oprescu, *Pictori in familia Szathmary* [Painters in the Szathmary family] (Neamtu: The Graphic Institute from the Holy Monastery (Neamtu, 1943), p. 6.

1a Arvay Arpad, "Some letters by Carol Popp de Szathmary", in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* (1972, no. 1) and Ana-Maria Covrig, "Contributions to the knowledge of the life and work of C. P. de Szathmary", in *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* (1976, no. 1).

2 Still, a passport rendered by Austrian authorities in 1850 recorded the date of 11 January 1812. He was of noble descent; his family, of an ancient aristocratic stock, came from Iank, "de Szathmar" county, as it stands in a diploma conferred by Emperor Leopold to Daniel Nagy, alias Popp (possibly Papp), the painter's ancestor, on May 16, 1666.

artist, he signed Szathmary—almost all his paintings bear that name. But his son, Alexandru, chose a simplified spelling of his name, so he stamped his father's paintings—now at the Library of the Romanian Academy and at the Museum of Arts of the S.R.R.—by the name of Satmary³.

He was a passionate reader and traveller, he could speak eleven languages (Hungarian, German, French, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Latin, Greek, Turkish, and Romanian); text pages were to accompany his album *Ardealul in imagini* (*Transylvania in Images*, 1843)⁴ later on.

His literary activity was crowned by his daring initiative in creating the universal journal *Illustratiunea* [The Illustration], in 1860.

His interest in the writings of Alonso de Ercilla y Zuniga, Ferenc Kazinczy, and Thomas More reveals important traits of his artistic personality. Szathmary is perfectly integrated among those whom Saint-Beuve called “laborious, educated, essentially perfectible geniuses”, and whom he contrasted with to the original founders, “engendered by themselves, sons of their own work”⁵.

His precious collection of weapons, of musical instruments, carpets, precious furniture, and various Oriental objects, as well as his valuable collection of paintings—comprising original pieces by Titian, Coreggio, Parmigianino, Perugino, Carracci, Salvator Rosa, Caravaggio, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Murillo, Tiepolo, Van Dyck, Dürer, Cranach, *et al.*⁶ suggest the range of preoccupations of the passionate artist.

Szathmary's Character and his Art

Szathmary was educated as an artist in Vienna, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and in the country of classic art—Italy; he succeeded in combining his closeness to Germanic culture, with his admiration for Italian art: he attained a synthesis between the neat, orderly, accurate drawing made without passion, such as he had learned at the Vienna Academy—there were Johann Nepomuk Ender's⁷ classes of “portrait and historical portrait painting”, and Karl Gsellhofer's⁸ “drawing after plaster casts and nudes”—and the somehow freer system of the Italian Academy.

He acquired his prodigious skill at Vienna and Budapest, grounded on a sound analysis and on an instinctive knowledge of what is essential and what is secondary in a motif. He then experimented with the art of portrait painting in Italy, in Florence, Rome, and Sorrento; there he mostly made women's portraits, either with accurate, firm, smooth

3 Sometimes the painter himself signed Szathmari, replacing *y* by *i*; it seems that the *y* was employed rather decoratively, though it can be also accounted for by the artist's Magyar descent.

4 *Ardealul in imagini* was the first book of the kind dedicated to that region—inspired by the *Voyages pittoresques* famous throughout Europe.

5 As a great lover of literature, Szathmary may have read Ludwig Tieck's *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (Rome 1798), so much admired in the nineteenth century, while his temperament and his artistic nature found many affinities with Tieck's character. Szathmary perhaps adopted Sternbald as his own model: this fictitious disciple of Dürer, who learned the craft of painting by long travels to the Low Countries and Italy. Szathmary, much like Sternbald, was very glad of wandering, he was deeply tempted by whatever was new, and he was endowed with a Romantic fancy for nature, archaeology and folklore.

6 *Catalogue of the Carol Popp de Szathmary Exhibition* (Bucharest, Art Museum of Bucharest, March–April 1983).

7 Johann Nepomuk Ender (1793–1854), Austrian painter.

8 Karl Gsellhofer (1770–1858), Austrian painter.

outlines, as in china painting, or with expressive ends of the pencil or watercolor line, like touches of shade⁹.

Nevertheless, he approached pleinairism, the painted record of a momentary "impression", by some of his qualities: he was able to draw essential and secondary elements of his object most rapidly and economically, with just a few touches, in his drawings and watercolors. His was sometimes the style of feature reports, made by drawing very quickly and efficiently¹⁰.

Whatever Szathmary rendered spontaneously, with the chosen motif in front, shows a genuine feeling, a warmth, a free and comprehensive approach which the works accomplished later on in his studio rarely preserved. That is to be particularly noticed in his oils, obviously completed in his studio¹¹. Thus his sketches made on notebooks or drawing block sheets are the most valuable proofs of his gift.

Szathmary's temptation to grasp fleeting images, as well as his tireless curiosity, account for his interest in the craft of photography; he used it as a form of art, much like Delacroix, or Degas, who understood that a mere photo, can be indeed a help for the painter if it is artistically taken¹².

Szathmary has an urge towards totality, which puts him not so much into the neighborhood of the Romantics but more of personalities of the classic type like Goethe or Leonardo da Vinci; especially with the forms he shows an interest in Oriental culture, experiments, in the sciences and interdisciplinary interest. "I am acquainted with all fields of science and art", he wrote. "I studied various scientific branches at the academies of Vienna, Florence, Rome, Berlin, Paris. My collections which I made up during my sojourn in Italy, are telling as regards my knowledge of zoology, ornithology, entomology, botany, mineralogy; there I also investigated some local archaeology".

The artist came from a Transylvanian family, he was educated after the Austro-Hungarian fashion then prevailing in that zone, but, nevertheless, he is a representative of the Romanian nation, in the sense that he spiritually belonged to the Romanian world by his close connection with the Romanian landscape and folklore—ethnographically—and with the social-political life of the Romanian Principalities. He even settled in Bucharest, his favourite city, where he married; there too, his son Alexandru followed him in his craft as a painter. But his oeuvre stands as an essential proof of it: it makes up the richest collection of documents, rendered artistically, which the Romanians have on their people and place in the 1840–1880 period¹³.

9 Szathmary too approached the great themes of the Romantic landscape: the lonely tree, the fir tree on a mountain peak, the steep rocks, the stormy waterfalls, precipices, blood-purple sunsets, wide seas, clouds, the sky, ruins; he did it with the accuracy of a naturalist, with a remarkable sense for details. After he had given up the Biedermeier style, he became a Romantic in sentiment and a realist in expression.

10 In that respect, he is a pioneer in the Romanian fine arts, anticipating by far the employment of that technique by other Romanian artists. His innovation consisted both in the theme and in method as such. The landscape, which in Romanian painting had so far been a backdrop, just a setting made up of imaginary elements around a portrait, became an independent genre with its own laws, requirements and its own charm.

11 His sketches made in notebooks or on the drawing block are the most valuable proofs of his gift.

12 Szathmary was aware of the value of his collections of photographs, taken, as they were, in various environments and geographical areas: he offered them to Queen Victoria, to Napoleon III and to some German sovereigns who decorated him and rewarded him generously.

13 "Szathmary's oeuvre is ours, as El Greco's is Spanish, as Sisley's Jonkinds' and Van Gogh's are French" cit.: George Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 56.

His sketch book was never missing from his pockets, while he traveled from the Alps to Baalbek, from Rome to Istanbul, noting his impressions in what almost appear to be coherent reports, free in their outline and spontaneous in their color, and even bearing the mention of the date and place of execution. When he had left his color at home, he noted the tinges by a pencil, in a picturesque, sui-generis language, mixing up languages and dialects—which only mirrors his original personality, a spirit which is not easy to define with nationalistic criteria.

Each journey meant for Szathmary another stage in his artistic formation and improvement¹⁴. His training period can be considered that before 1840, while after 1840 he can be considered a mature artist, having command of his means of expression.

The year 1850 marked Szathmary's great Oriental adventure. His travel there was the beginning of his most brilliant creative stage, a very important moment in the artist's life, and a really novel aspect in the Romanian fine arts¹⁵. Szathmary went to Constantinople in 1859 and in 1864 as a "brush chronicler" of Prince Alexander Ican Cuza, whom he accompanied in his visits to the Porte¹⁶. Szathmary was appointed painter and photographer of the princely court of Romania by Prince Cuza, in 1863; his title was then acknowledged by King Carol I. As such, Szathmary officially participated in Romania's War of Independence, 1877, as a war reporter and photographer, joining the Romanian Forces Headquarters.

Szathmary had always been passionately interested in novelty of means and techniques¹⁷; the experience he had gained in the art of engraving came to fruition in the year 1860, by printing the weekly *Illustratiunea*, first issue on September 18¹⁸.

One field Szathmary excelled in was photography, which he succeeded in raising to the level of art. In 1850 he opened a photographic studio. His was an essential contribution in the development of artistic photography in Romania¹⁹. The pioneering in the field of war news reports aroused debates all over the world. There are experts who grant that priority to the Englishman Roger Fenton. Nevertheless, Szathmary was the first press war

14 If we consider the period before 1840—when he created Franz Liszt's portrait—as a stage in his artistic formation, after 1840 Szathmary proves a full-fledged artist and master of his means of expression. Several important music pictures date back to the fifth decade of the century: a) "Barbu Lăutaru" (fig. 3), b) "Liszt la Capu Dracului" [Liszt at the Devil's Head] (fig. 32), c) "Muzicanții la Moși" [Folk Musicians at the Fun Fair] (fig. 19), 1846.

15 His drawing "Cintăreți persani" [Persian Players] dates from this period (see fig. 28).

16 Much like the artist's sketch- and notebooks of Italy, his drawings and watercolors made in the Orient let us infer his way of working: Almost all his sketches are made vivid by patches of watercolor, apparently haphazard, but applied with such taste and skill, that the preliminary drawings, as said before, are more interesting than the finished paintings (in the latter, he tended to overwork details). The colors of each album sheet strictly depend on the subject approached; Delacroix did the same.

17 In 1835 he was in Budapest, and, together with Chladek, he made portraits of that time's celebrities, for steel-engravings, or lithographs, meant for illustrated almanacs. In February 1860 he was appointed to make the lithograph of Romania's big topographic map, i.e. the new map of the Romanian Principalities which had only been united one year before, under the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza.

18 Szathmary made use of the technique of Firmin Gillot. He drew himself the title and the frontispiece of the journal, applying the technique of paniconography or paniconography. But the journal soon stopped being published, because it did not enjoy the expected public success.

19 Szathmary even got involved in a dangerous adventure, due to his enthusiasm for that new technique: he went to the East between 1851 and 1854, to take pictures from the Crimean War; on that occasion, he also reached Persia. In April 1854, Szathmary made his appearance in Silistra, using a carriage as an improvised studio.

photographer in the world, which is confirmed by historical arguments²⁰. At that time, photographs were made on metal plates (daguerreotype). But Szathmary's method was special: he spread a thick photosensitive sheet of paper, of the consistency of an oil cloth, on which the object taken appeared luminous, with metallic reflexes, as in a daguerreotype. When exposed in a certain way to light, the surface rendered the image of the respective object up to its smallest detail.

In 1881 Szathmary gave up photography, and dedicated himself entirely to painting. The smooth, fresh, transparent colors were Szathmary's favorites; watercolor was the most fitting to render momentary states and impressions quickly and accurately; thence the variety of the expressive means he employed in conveying his favourite themes: landscapes, portraits, aspects from the life and customs of the Romanian farmers, Oriental architecture, garments, and traditions, etc.

Portraits of Fiddlers

Around 1864, Szathmary's interest was drawn especially by folk performances, by fiddlers, etc., "young, graceful figures, dark-haired bohemians wearing Turkish attire and fezzes"²¹. Such subjects were repeatedly approached in his sketches, drawings and watercolors representing the folk music band of Ochi-Albi (White-Eyes), famous in Bucharest at the time; the fiddlers of Barbu Lăutaru, or, later on, Serbian, Albanian fiddlers and simply bands performing folk dance music.

The two contrasting aspects of Szathmary's technique are also used in his depictions of musicians—some of them hastily sketched, others worked out in detail.

For example, his sketch "Fiddlers" (*fig. 1*) shows a kobsa player²² reminding one of the renowned Barbu Lăutaru featured with utmost clarity, with details of the garments, and

20 At the time when Roger Fenton, first secretary of the Photographic Society of London, accompanied by three laboratory assistants, landed at Balaklava, in Crimea, on 8 March 1855, Szathmary had already been enjoying the praise and admiration of all Europe for his album, offered in several copies to several sovereigns; it was also presented at the Universal Exhibition of Paris, in 1855. Unfortunately, the album he offered to Napoleon III burnt in the Palace of the Tuileries in 1871, and the one offered to Queen Victoria burnt in Windsor Palace. It seems that the Austrian imperial stock of albums has been well preserved, containing an important Crimean part; that might be a chance of finding again Szathmary's photographs taken in that war. Anyway, Earnest Lacan noted the following in his book *Esquisses photographiques à propos de l'Exposition Universelle et de la guerre d'Orient*, published in Paris in 1856: "Therefore, Mr. Szathmary's album is a work of art, in which the painter, the poet, and the historian appear equally interesting. Moreover, it is one of the most remarkable achievements provided by photography, if we consider the difficulty of production, too". Data extracted from "Carol Popp de Szathmary" by Jon Munteanu in: *Contemporanul* (February 6, 1986) and C. Savulescu "Carol Popp de Szathmary. First war Photographer?" in: *Magazin istoric*, VII/12 (December 1972).

21 Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 34.

22 *Cobsa*, traditional instrument, commonly used for folk music; the word comes from the Persian *el aud* or *ʿūd* or, perhaps from the Oriental word *kopuz*. The instrument consists of a box-like part called *burduf* or *birdan* made of five to seven walnut or sycamore ribs, its upper side is made from a spruce fir piece of wood; a neck, wide and short, and a pegbox turned backwards at a right or obtuse angle. The strings, different in length, are joined at a tailpiece made of fir wood. The strings are pressed with the left hand fingers and plucked with a goose feather, held in the right hand. The instrument has eight to ten strings, grouped in sets of two, three, or four. Each set may include a thicker string. The thick strings are tuned one octave lower than the rest. The tuning differs from region to region, the most common being in fourths or fifths (D-A-D-G). *Nai*, a kind of panpipe, consisting of several tubes of different sizes, closed at one end; *nay*, in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

expressive lines of the face. While the kobsa player is performing his tune most attentively, with an obvious concentration of feeling, a bagpiper, hardly sketched, is just listening. There is a motivation in the manner of drawing: the one actually playing is shown in detail, the listener only sketched. The performing position has been drawn accurately: the man was a virtuoso—he is shown plucking the strings with the fingers of his right hand, while fingers two and four of his left hand press the strings.

“The Kobsa Player of the Ardennes”, (fig. 2) referring to the same instrument, merely emphasizes the performer’s position as to his barely suggested instrument and the moment’s atmosphere. Szathmary sketched a poorly dressed kobsa player, sitting on stones in an indefinite area; the drawing is made up of rapid, contorted lines (pencil and watercolor)²³.

Another pencil sketch certainly depicts Barbu Lăutaru (fig. 3), whom Franz Liszt greatly admired—the latter was even inspired by some tunes he had heard from the famous leader of Moldavian fiddlers (in several Lisztian pieces of Romanian folkloric inspiration).

The meeting between Liszt and the most famous Moldavian fiddler left several legends, more or less Romantic and fantastic. Gheorghe Ciobanu wrote that “the story goes that, in 1847, Barbu Lăutaru was to play at a party of the Austrian consulate, in the presence of Liszt, and that the former was able to render a piece which Liszt had improvised on the spot”²⁴. Octavian Beu upheld that the two musicians had met at poet Vasile Alecsandri’s mansion of Mircești²⁵; the idea was taken over by George Bora in his article of *Revista Fundațiilor*: “Liszt is said to have also known Vasile Alecsandri in the house of Boyar Bals; the poet was aware of the musician’s interest in the Romanian folklore, and he invited Liszt to his mansion of Mircești the more so as the former wrote down whatever folklore pieces he heard and found interesting. At Mircești, Liszt had the opportunity to meet Barbu Lăutaru’s band, and there must have been Szathmary too, who could thus draw that band”²⁶.

Beu even quoted in the above mentioned article²⁷ a dialogue he said had taken place between Liszt and Barbu Lăutaru, a dialogue he had found in the book entitled *Franz Liszt*, by Julius Kapp, published in Berlin in 1922.

Beyond such fictionalized accounts, we can state with all certainty the fact that Liszt knew Barbu Lăutaru and listened to his music.

Szathmary’s sketch shows the old performer playing the panpipe: his position, the manner in which he blows into his instrument are most accurately grasped by the artist’s realistic perception. The performer appears on the left side of the sketch, while on the right there is an expressive head and a kobsa; in the middle, a profile like a caricature; down on the right, Szathmary sketched the study of a traditional gown, with the possible colors written down for each element of the costume: “violet” for the gown proper, “pink” for the belt, and “vert” for the garment under the gown, which were probably meant for the clothes of the characters in a future picture for which he conceived these sketches.

23 The piece now belongs to the Library of the Romanian Academy, coming from Oprescu’s collection.

24 Gheorghe Ciobanu, “Barbu Lăutaru”, in: *Revista de folklor*, 3/4 (December 1958), pp. 90–130.

25 Octavian Beu, “Franz Liszt in Romania”, in: *Magazinul* (Bucharest), 2 (1931), pp. 83–84.

26 George Bora, *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (1941), p. 134.

27 Beu (footnote 25).

Excursus: As chief of the fiddler's band, Barbu Lăutaru had to be able to play all instruments employed by his men—the sketch is a proof against the opinion of the researchers who do not believe that he could play the panpipe. There is another argument supporting this assertion, namely in a quotation from the French weekly *La Vie Parisienne* No. 48 of 28 November 1974. The author of the article described Barbu Lăutaru as “an old man, with a gray beard parted in two, grown down to his breast; his eyes, glistening with intelligence and good humour, appeared under his cap that covered his forehead”. A description of the musical performance proper followed: “The bows are drawn emphatically, the highpitched sounds of the Panpipe cover the low, wide tune, sounding its hoarse, shrill lament [...]. The tune is accompanied by the monotonous sound of the kobsa, bearing here and there a melodic passage, as an ornament, which stops suddenly and is resumed from time to time, throwing within the substance of that strange music its savage type”. By tradition, the chief of the band was a soloist, so it can be deduced that Barbu Lăutaru was he who played the panpipe—the more so as the French newspaperman dealt with that Romanian virtuoso in his article.

Leaving aside different hypotheses, Szathmary is sure to have had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Barbu Lăutaru at the time when the latter accompanied Liszt throughout Moldavia—and it was then too that he sketched the fiddler's portrait, around 1874²⁸.

Portraits of musical performers preoccupied Szathmary during his travels: they show his fascination by music, in particular by the expression on performers' faces. There are two watercolors drawn up with exquisite minuteness, seemingly showing two positions of the same performer. One, entitled “Fiddler” (fig. 4), depicts an old man, gray-haired and with a gray moustache, dressed in garments reminding one of the folk costumes of Bosnia—he wears a red fez, a blue coat, a red belt, a log shirt, red stockings, and peasant boots. He is playing the violin, the instrument leaning against his breast, so that his left hand can hold the neck of the instrument at the height of his own waist. The other one is the portrait entitled “Serbian fiddler” (fig. 5); there, the old kobsa player, simply but neatly dressed, is holding a kobsa and a bow in his right hand, in such a way that the otherwise humiliating holding out of his hat, begging for some coins, acquires an almost aristocratic dignity. The colors employed are the same in the two paintings—white, red, blue, brown—and so it is highly probable that Szathmary depicted the same performer, because there is both a similarity of traits and of costume.

“The Albanian fiddler” (fig. 6) is drawn with utmost clarity, though his instrument has hardly been sketched; the man is holding up his violin under his chin, with his left hand at the level of his belt; the bow cannot be seen. The performing position is quite similar to that of the “Fiddler”, which may be interesting for those who want to know the playing technique in the Balkans.

There is an extraordinary portrait of a fiddler (fig. 7)—which seems to step out of its frame, by its vividness and sense of truthfulness: a fiery temperament, an exceptional concentration is apparent in the man's quick, penetrating eyes, in the firm but supple features of his dark complexion. His hair is long, curly, chestnut, his moustache twisted, his nose slightly aquiline, his face that of an Asiatic prince; he is wearing a hat adorned by a feather, a gray-blue coat over his shirt unbuttoned at his neck. He holds the neck of his violin in his right hand.

28 The article in *La vie parisienne* was issued in 1874, therefore during Liszt's lifetime, who would not have accepted erroneous assertions concerning his life and activities; nevertheless, it is strange enough that Liszt never mentioned Barbu Lăutaru when he made his notes on the specific features of the Romanian folklore.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Another Bohemian musician (fig. 8) was worked out in slightly watercolored pencil, so as to indicate the copper-colored skin; he is playing a bagpipe, accurately drawn. Szathmary noted alongside the performer's pensive figure the colors, which he intended to add to the picture later on: one can thus read "yellow, blé, ..." – the last word, almost entirely faded, can no longer be deciphered.

Two other almost identical sketches (fig. 9 and 10) represent a player of a *bucium*²⁹ (a big traditional wind instrument). One of them, a pastel watercolor, is entitled "A Bucium Blower of the Ceahlau Mountain-Secu"; apparently, it was captioned by the painter himself. The other one shows a longhaired young man, with his cap and peasant boots on, wearing a long shirt and a belt—a specifically Romanian costume—he is playing the *bucium* which he supports with his right hand, while his left hand holds the instrument at the upper part. To the pencil was added some watercolor only for the cap, *bucium*, trousers, and belt, which appear in brown tinges. The latter piece comprises some interesting notes written by the painter: "csoban", "ceoban", in several variants, one of them even suggesting a largely decorated signature. Szathmary seems to have amused himself by phonetically transcribing the Romanian word "cioban" (shepherd) in several languages, which fit his improvisation-loving nature, ingenious and versatile.

Groups of Musicians

The "Dumitrache Ochi-Albi Band" (fig. 11, 12, and 13) was done in three different techniques: pen drawing, engraving, and watercolor. The pen sketch, with some watercolor added, conveys the performers dressed in smart velvet mantles, playing the panpipe, three violins, and a kobsa in traditional positions; the violinist in the middle of the drawing is the only one drawn more hazily—without even a touch of watercolor, either haphazardly or, perhaps, ironically, as to the symmetry on the whole. The same image appeared again in an engraving made after a pencil sketch, with recurrences specific to that technique, and then also in a watercolor preserving the rather decorative line of the performers gathered in a band. They are wearing vividly colored mantles—green, violet, blue, white, etc. They also play in classical positions. The face of the kobsa player is unclear, but his gray hair and his figure rather recall Barbu Lăutaru. Once again, the fact aroused controversies, in spite of the fact that the piece bears the title of "Ochi-Albi Band". The pen sketch and the engraving contain only young-faced performers, while two elderly figures are to be seen in the watercolor: the kobsa player and the panpipe player; but Szathmary may have resumed the subject after a large interval of time—which might even account for the two musicians getting old, or for changes in the band. Nevertheless, it is rather strange that only those two figures are not completely accurate, unlike the others. What "quirk" of the inventive painter could it have been?³⁰

29 *Bucium* – natural wind instrument; its range encompasses the third to the sixth harmonic depending on the length and shape of the pipe, and on the player's skill. According to the shape of the tube there are five different types, ranging from one to three metres; the pipe may be straight or bent, conical or cylindrical. Name: *bucium*, *buciu*, *trimbitea*, *tulnic*. The mentioned series of sketches suggests that Szathmary made at least two variants of the same subject; he either tried two different expressions of the same subject, or he resumed it in watercolor, after the pencil sketch. The sketch may have been drawn on the spot, while the watercolor was worked out subsequently, though the painter used to take his paintbox with him when he was in the field.

30 There is a copy (pastel watercolor) after a drawing by Szathmary. The copy, preserved at the Obdenaru

Three other performers appear in a sketch in pencil (*fig. 14*) “reinforced” with black ink and partially water-colored: the figures have been given a clear contour, unlike the instruments—violin, panpipe, and, probably, a kobsa, suggested by the performers’ positions. Here, Szathmary was only interested in the group expression, and less in details. It seems to be a “choice” band, judging by the men’s boyar gowns and mantles.



Fig. 14

Szathmary showed his interest in the expression of faces and attitudes in his “Sketches of Musicians” (*fig. 15*): there are conveyed seven well-represented heads of instrumental performers—on the right a violinist bearing a fez, and with his violin in a playing position; on the left, a panpipe player with a bony face and short-clipped hair; in the middle, there are two sketches of violinist (the violin of one of them can only be partially seen) and another head, which seems to be a self-portrait, besides two other profiles; on the upper right side of the painting, there is a rather childish caricature.

Another “Popular Musicians Sketch” (*fig. 16*) shows a young kobsa player concentrated on playing his instrument (top) and the portrait of an old fiddler—the instrument appears fragmentarily, while an oblique line suggests the bow; we can thus infer that the old fiddler is actually playing.

Museum, “Taraful Ochi-Albi” [The Ochi-Albi Band], signed by Lucia Cosmescu, is noted to show the Ochi-Albi band, but the catalogue of the museum refers to it as Barbu Lăutaru band, as was recorded at the picture gallery from where the copy was taken. Originally, the copy belonged to the Ortansa Satmary collection—she was the painter’s daughter-in-law; so the text in the picture gallery catalogue should be corrected and read “preserved in the collection of the painter himself, subsequently inherited by his family”. Still, the copy was made after a piece belonging to the Library of the Romanian Academy, where it is entitled “Ochi-Albi Band”.



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

The idea of studying an instrument in various positions was also resumed in "Sketches of Popular Musicians at the Fun Fair" (fig. 17); there, Szathmary drew two performers—a drummer and a wind instrumentalist, on a big sheet of paper. Each of them was rendered in two or even three variants. The drummer variants have been placed towards the edges of the sheet, while the other personage holds the central part. The big, circus-like drum on the left, with the drummer sitting on the ground beside it, almost covered, appears in a perfect reverse on the right: the player is shown in the foreground, sitting on the ground and beating the drum on one of its sides with a padded stick, while he beats the other side of the drum with a stick. There, Szathmary was concerned with the position of the performer as to his instrument, as also in the case of the other performer. The latter was featured sitting cross-legged and blowing into his fife, seen half face, with his instrument in a horizontal position (the image was resumed and treated in detail on the upper right); a front portrait features him with his instrument tilted.

The drummer also appears in other sketches by Szathmary, e.g. in a separate sketch—"The Drummer" (fig. 18)—made out of just a few brief, vigorous lines, or in group sketches, such as one entitled again "Popular Musicians at the Fun Fair" (fig. 19), a theme he often chose. The latter conveys the portrait of a young man on the left, wearing a fez and a rather mixed attire, who is playing the flute; beside him a child holds a big drum (as in the sketch commented upon above) on his left knee, performing in the manner already described; a young man in tatters was sketched on the right side of the sheet, most accurately. On the upper right, the bust of an old woman: she seems to be looking at the three performers.

There are numerous scenes of "Fun Fairs" in Szathmary's oeuvre. In the "Round Dance at the Fun Fair" (fig. 20) for example³¹, the painter gathered approximately one hundred personages of an astonishing diversity in point of their occupations, garments, gestures, expressions—which stands as proof of the painter's virtuosity as a draftsman. Two violinists and a tamboura player on the left, middle ground, are playing for a folk round dance running among tents and stalls. Four other folk musicians in the foreground, among townspeople and carousers—two violinists, a dwarf kobsa player and a character dancing while he beats the tambourine—are playing for a group of listeners. Szathmary's drawing crackles with liveliness, motion, merriment, conveying the pulsation of the teeming crowds.

Szathmary got so enthusiastic about the musical qualities of the street cries of the Oltenian farmers and gypsies who tried to sell their wares, that he wrote down the melodic line of what he could hear. Such a detail once more proves Szathmary's originally and absolute fidelity to facts, as well as the fact he was able to expertly use musical notation and transcribe a melodic line by ear—noting not only the rhythm of the music, but also the intervallic relations.

31 "Hora la Moși" [Round Dance at the Fun Fair]. The word *hora*, round dance, derived from the Latin *chorus*, designates a Romanian folk dance performed by dancers standing in a circle and moving successively to the right and left, forwards, and backwards. While they lightly raise and lower their arms, the dancers get closer or away from each other, causing the circle to grow smaller or wider. The dance has different variants, according to different regions, but there are also round dances, performed throughout the country in the same fashion, such as *The Elders' Round Dance*, *The Girls' Round Dance*, etc. – There is an engraving "St. Peter Fair at Giurgiu" signed by Raffet dating back to 1837, identical with "Hora la Moși", signed by Szathmary, which leads to the supposition that Raffet made his engraving after Szathmary's drawing; the question has not yet been settled.



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

This provides us perhaps with an opportunity to shed some light on Szathmary as an ethnomusicologist³².

Even when they are vaguely sketched, in several quick lines, the landscape and especially the personages in Szathmary's drawings are meaningful, they suggest concrete existence. That is also the case of the "Round Dance at the Foot of the Mountains" (*fig. 21*), where the peaks are merely indicated by an undulatory line, while the dancers follow a movement which the viewer becomes highly aware of, due to the rhythm of the dance conveyed by the "magic" pencil: the line supplies something like a musical accompaniment, even if the fiddlers are not to be seen.

Another "Round Dance" (*fig. 22*), this time rendered very clearly on a big sheet, draws our attention—not by its rather conventional structure, but by the contours all highlighted in English red, a technique not elsewhere used in Szathmary's oeuvre, and, as far as we know, also not among his contemporaries. This watercolor renders six dancers in a round³³, accompanied by a bagpiper featured on the left. There seems to be a pub in the background, for two figures are seated at a table, and two others are standing, leaning against a fence. Yet two other onlookers are to be perceived on the left side of the drawing.

Unlike most of the drawings and watercolors mentioned so far, treated quite freely and spontaneously, "Joc de doi din Bughia-Cîmpulung" [Dance-for-Two of Bughia-Cîmpulung]³⁴ (*fig. 23*) suffers from excessive academism, having symmetries and linear planes

32 The details have been selected from the accounts made by Oprescu (footnote 1), intimate friend of the painter's son, Alexandru, and daughter-in-law, Ortansa. However, it is not certain whether these data are still preserved. I could not find any such document at the Library of the Romanian Academy, where most of the documents about Szathmary can be found.

33 Actually, the dance is called *brîu* (waistband), *hora* being generic for Romanian folk dances.

34 A dance performed by couples holding hands and standing close to each other. The girl pirouettes around



Fig. 20

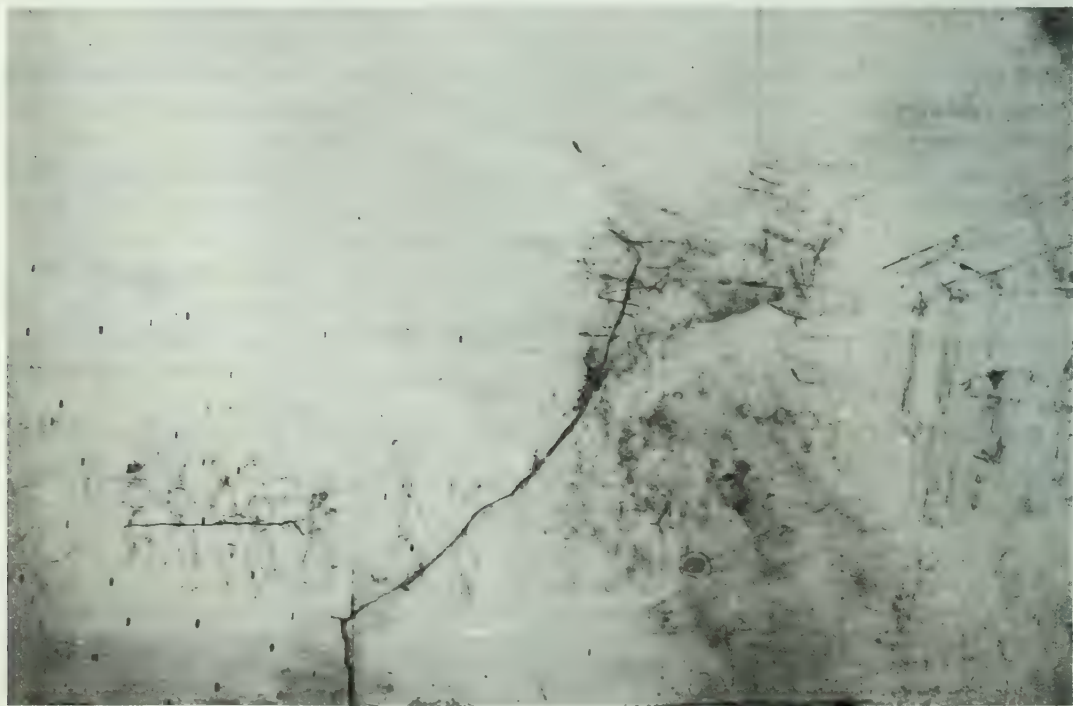


Fig. 21



Fig. 22

unusual with Szathmary. The seven pairs are revealed along an absolutely straight line, the inexpressive faces are those of puppets moving without any inner involvement. The dance is accompanied by a violinist and a kobza player, in the middle ground. The violinist holds his instrument in front of himself, under his chin; all persons are wearing folk costumes. The drawing, made in pencil, adds watercolor in order to provide color to the men's hats and to the young girls. As elsewhere the painter wrote a caption to the sketch—however in the old spelling: “Joc de duoi din Bughia-Câmpu-Lungu”.

A big watercolor, “Group of peasants” (fig. 24), belongs to the same category of rather idyllic, artificial paintings; it is vividly colored, and shows three young peasants from the Arges region pensively listening to what a boy is telling them. The latter is sitting in the foreground, with his back turned to the onlookers, and he makes a gesture with his left hand. A very exactly drawn kobza lies behind the young boy, on the right side of the watercolor. A certain kind of accuracy, a pedantic manner apparent in this watercolor were in fact characteristic of the conventional taste at the time.

Szathmary also offered novel images, interesting even from a documentary and ethnographical viewpoint, of the folk dance *Călușul*³⁵ in two of his oeuvres, preceded by several sketches of the dancers viewed separately.

her partner, one arm above her head. The dance may be performed by four partners—a man and three women—, turning around one another and pirouetting in complicated formations.

- 35 *Călușul* – considered of Roman origin, initially performed by Roman males to seduce Latin women; this dance is traditionally performed at Pentecost. Mentioned by Dimitrie Cantemir and Franz Sulzer in the eighteenth-century *Descriptio Moldaviae* (Vienna, 1715), translated into Romanian by George Pascu, Bucharest 1923 p. 157, Franz Sulzer, *Geschichte des Transalpinischen Daciens*, vol. 2, (Vienna, 1781), p. 405, it is exclusively a male dance, including a series of ceremonies, some ritualistic, others simply entertaining. After the “flag” is ready, the men (“călușari”) take a pledge of allegiance to the group. At the end of the ritual, the “flag” is cast in a river. Theodor Burada remarks that the “călușari” dancers



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

A rather conventional engraving (fig. 25) features a group of eight *călușar* dancers in a semi-circle; the leader of the dance with the “flag” fluttering on top of a long pole, another dancer, who is leaning against the kind of stick typically used in that dance and two fiddlers are in the middle of the picture; one of the performers is a violinist, playing in the traditional position, while the *kobsa* player holds his instrument almost vertically. It is to be noted that the *kobsa* is held horizontally, with a minimal inclination, in the other drawings where Szathmary chose to depict it.

The *călușar* dancers appear elsewhere (fig. 26) surrounded by mountains and by a group

wear peacock feathers and little bells on hats and legs and carry sticks, while performing various ritualistic movements. For a week, the dancers are “enlisted”, and one assumes the part of the “dumb” (remaining silent through the whole ceremonial week). The “flag” is either held in one hand or fixed to the ground each dancer jumping near it, while shouting “get her” (referring to the girl he intends to win over); one dancer steals the flag and runs up a hill, followed by the others. Then they perform some acrobatics, see Theodor Burada, *Opere*, vol. I. (Bucharest: Editura muzicala, 1980) p. 87. Emilia Comisel maintains that the dancers imitate the activity of ploughing, or the whipping of one of the dancers, its ancient significance being the fertility ritual (initiation and recovery); today, only the dance itself is still performed. The time, used during the dance and while the group goes from one house to the next, is played on a panpipe, bagpipe, or violin; it has two or several parts—in the form of a suite or rondo—the walk, a slow part and one or more faster movements—ABAC, etc. or ABAB. In Transylvania, the dance is called “Călușierul” and is performed either on New Year’s Eve (on a quiet folk tune “Banu Maracine” or on dance music structured in the form *aksak*—or from Christmas until New Year’s Eve, in its ancient variant, with some alternation and a complex performance. There are over 150 different steps. In Oltenia the “dumb” man is wearing a masque representing a horse’s or a hare’s head; see Emilia Comişel, *Folclor muzical* (Bucharest: Editura Didactica si Pedagogică, 1967), pp. 201–204.



Fig. 26

of onlookers. The violinist, too, plays classically, while the kobsa player is making use of a very long-necked instrument, in its second segment. Unlike the former drawing in which the central group is unnaturally static and the dancers seem to move in a rather decorative, artificial manner, the colored drawing is really vivid, suggesting a continuous, winding course of the dance; the "action" featured is consistent and concerted. Both oeuvres were made in the Arges zone, judging from the folk costumes.

We should also mention Szathmary's studies and sketches showing bear leaders, where the presence of a drummer or of some other kind of "musician" is self-understood, even if not featured.

There is a small watercolor captioned "Shepherd's Pipe Dealer" (*fig. 27*), singular in Romanian genre painting. A man with long gray hair, dressed in brown clothes, clasping tightly to his chest several long pipes, with blowing apertures on their ends. The person is featured half-face, with dull, sad colors, but the watercolor is very expressive, the atmosphere almost grave, resulting from the manner in which the dealer hugs his instruments protectively, as if they were the only valuable thing in the world.

Persian Players

From among almost one thousand pieces making up Szathmary's Oriental "booty", the drawing "Persian Players" (*fig. 28*) should be particularly mentioned in this context, due to the highly accurate rendering of the instruments; through such drawings, one can get acquainted both with the construction of the respective instruments, and playing techni-



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

que. It is a pencil drawing I refer to, conveying an Oriental interior, with columns in the background and a couch in the foreground. Three men are sitting cross-legged on the couch, with their slippers on the ground beside each of them: they are playing the *saz* (a kind of tamboura); a fourth person, a man, with his legs crossed, smokes a *nargileh*. On the left appears a bust with a turban, very clearly drawn, which might be a statue, because of its expressive immobility, or perhaps a listener looking out of a presumptive window. The three performers are in a state of specifically oriental concentration, unaware of their surroundings; they are wearing fezzes, while the *nargileh* smoker wears a turban. Every instrumentalist has a different attitude and if one would read the drawings literally one could see in the different fingering positions evidence for heterophonic or polyphonic playing. The first performer holds his right hand at the neck of his instrument, with his sleeve slightly rolled up; the second one plays in the middle part of the strings, like the third one, who is tapping the strings with his index finger. His left hand is somewhere on the neck or on its lower part, pressing against the strings. It seems that the five strings of the instrument are grouped into two doubles and a single one, the neck being divided in several parts.

The Portrait of Franz Liszt

A portrait of Franz Liszt (*fig. 29*), made by Szathmary, in watercolored pen, has led to endless controversies, hypotheses and confusions³⁶. In his article on Carol Popp de Szathmary, Oreste Tafrali³⁷ held that the portrait had been drawn during Liszt's tour in Moldavia. Octavian Beu³⁸, asserted that Liszt gave a concert in Boyar Alecu Balș's hall, in Iași (1847), where Szathmary made the musician's portrait. He resumed that idea one year later³⁹, still adding that the portrait had been completed between Iași and Galati.

On the other hand, George Oprescu⁴⁰ noted that Szathmary had painted Liszt "by pen and watercolor, dreamy, at the piano, just when he attacked a motif. Liszt appears very young, almost a child, with his head of an angelic handsomeness [...] his portrait cannot show him at 36 years of age, i.e. his age in 1847; it means that the painter and the musician had met before, perhaps in Rome, in 1839". Besides, as Oprescu observed, Liszt's features, as they were rendered by Szathmary, are very close to Kriehuber's more elaborated lithograph made in Vienna in 1838⁴¹.

36 F. Laszlo tried to clear up the problem in an unpublished article, private collection.

37 Oreste Tafrali, "Carol Popp de Szathmary, the Painter", in: *Arts si Archeologie* (Bucharest), 1 (1927), pp. 56–61.

38 Octavian Beu (footnote 25). The author gives a reproduction of the portrait, writing under it "Iași – January 1847".

39 Octavian Beu, *Franz Liszt in Our Country* (Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1932), p. 99.

40 George Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 21.

41 In his article on the 1939 exhibition, "Carol Popp de Szathmary's exhibition" published by *Viața românească* 4 (1939) the same author supposed that Szathmary could have even met Liszt in Paris in 1833, where the renowned virtuoso gave a number of concerts. Nevertheless, in the article "Some Unknown Events from Franz Liszt Life" in *Revista istorică* (1941), p. 101 Oprescu resumed the question of how much-talked-about portrait can be dated, considering the year 1839 the probable date of the painting; his hypothesis was based on the fact that Liszt had to "pose in Rome" (a detail he found in the work by Richard Graf, *Cosima Wagner, ein Leben- und ein Charakterbild* (München, 1929) while Szathmary was in Rome, too. See also Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 24.

On the other hand, Orest Tafrali⁴² noted the resemblance between Szathmary's portrait of Liszt and the musician's portrait by Nancy Mérienne in 1836 (*fig. 31*)⁴³. Tafrali contradicted himself asserting, on the one hand, that the painting was completed in Iași in 1847, and, on the other, noting the resemblance with Liszt's face in 1836! Liszt could hardly have changed so little in the course of eleven years. According to Oprescu what seems the real time of that portrait is between 1836 and 1840⁴⁴.

It is not only the date that seems debatable, but also the words "Amico Liszt" as well as the completion "L'ami Szathmary", which does or does not accompany it. Tafrali mentioned only "Amico Liszt"⁴⁵, Nicolae Missir reproduces a portrait (*fig. 30*) which is perhaps a variant and claims that it is signed "Amico Liszt l'ami Szathmary"⁴⁶. Even if the Italian-French wording would be the original one, rather characteristic of Szathmary—still, "l'ami Szathmary" seems to be a later forgery.

The third perplexing element: the two staves under the portrait, about which Tafrali wrote that the famous musician added several lines from a composition of his "at the bottom of the page"⁴⁷, which would suggest that they are in Liszt's hand writing⁴⁸. The lines of the staff, and other details rather suggest the idea that the musical fragment was added subsequently, by Szathmary⁴⁹.

Szathmary met Liszt again in 1847, on the occasion of the composer's travel in the Romanian area, on his way to Kiev, and after he had toured Europe for rather a long time. Liszt was accompanied in his travel by painter Adolf Schreier⁵⁰.

A sketchy drawing (*fig. 32*), almost a caricature, shows the three friends wading through the snow, behind the slowly advancing carriage. They wear big, funny boots; the sun in the sky bears the inscription "Konstantinopole", ironically or not, pointing to the direction towards which Liszt intended to travel. The drawing shows Liszt leading the group, holding in his left hand a big rolled manuscript⁵¹; each personage has his name written

42 Oreste Tafrali (footnote 37).

43 Portrait published by Guy de Pourtalès as the frontispiece in *La vie de Franz Liszt* (Paris: Gallimard, 1927), footnote 34.

44 See above footnote 41.

45 See above footnote 37.

46 Nicolae Missir, "Franz Liszt Concert Tours, 1846–1847", in: *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* (Bucharest), 8/2 (1961), pp. 490–504.

47 See footnote 37.

48 Octavian Beu made the same statement in: *Magazinul*, (footnote 25), writing as a caption for the portrait: "Musical fragment written by Liszt at Iași in 1847".

49 A minute analysis of all these debatable aspects concerning Liszt's portrait will be provided by professor Francisco Laszlo, in his study "Amico Liszt – A Portrait by Carol Popp de Szathmary" (to be published), where the author seems to have solved some questions; as to the fragment of music, he found it to be the Csardas of Coltau, which appears in some of Liszt's rhapsodies. The author made serious, comparative investigations and reached the conclusion that the portrait was made in Italy and that there was an original photographed by Aurelia Cionca for the program of her recital of 17 December 1933; by Beu, who reproduced it as a color illustration on the cover of his book cited in footnote 39; by Oprescu in *Revista istorică* (footnote 41) and by Missir (footnote 46) either appearing with the false signature (in Aurelia Cionca's program), or without it, in the other three mentioned versions. The author further concluded that Tafrali did not reproduce a copy of the painter in 1927, and that the Academy Library possesses a copy made in the 1930's. The musical fragment, Laszlo noted, was repeatedly included in the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14*, the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 21* (original), the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 1*, and the *Fantasy after Hungarian Popular Tunes for Piano and Orchestra*.

50 An Austrian painter (1828–1899) who also painted scenes from the Crimean War and from the Orient. He used some of Szathmary's photographs as a source of inspiration: the two painters were close friends.

51 From the study on his concert, we learn that he travelled from Moldavia to Kiev, then he came back; he played in a concert at Constantinople, for the Sultan, and came once again to Iași.



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31

above—everything in an atmosphere of mild humor. In the bottom right corner of the picture, the painter wrote: “Nur langsam fahren”. The scene took place at Capu Dracului, a name given on the left side of the picture⁵². The drawing has particular importance as a document, referring to the moment when the composer rode through the Galati zone in those years, and also to his friendship with Szathmary⁵³.

Other details regarding the friendship between Liszt and Szathmary were mentioned in George Oprescu's study⁵⁴. Liszt considered Szathmary a *Landsmann*, a term that occurs twice, in two letters of recommendation of 1855, in which the composer presented the painter to Bonaventura Genelli and, respectively, to the historical painter W. von Kaulbach, both living in Munich. The first letter was signed by somebody from Liszt's entourage, the other was signed by the composer himself⁵⁵.

It was in 1855, too, that Liszt called his children back from Paris to Germany. As he wanted to keep the portraits of his loved ones, he appealed to Szathmary, which only proves that the musician highly appreciated Szathmary's gift as a portrait painter⁵⁶.

52 The writing cannot be considered an autograph, because the two notes display different handwritings.

53 Whether Liszt was then just heading for Kiev, as Oprescu thought; (footnote 1, p. 24) or for Constantinople, according to the drawing, is not clear. The Romanian writer Emil Girleanu (1878–1914) also referred to that drawing in the 1909 *Literary and Artistic Calendar of the Encyclopaedic Library*, article “Socec”. Though it was referred to by Emil Girleanu as early as 1909, then by George Bora in 1941, and by Oprescu in his work on the painters of the Szathmary family the drawing was only published as late as 1985, in *A Hét*, by musicologist Viorel Cosma, who dedicated to it a comprehensive study, in: *A Hét* (Bucharest, 1986), p. 7.

54 See footnote 1, p. 9.

55 That year, Szathmary hoped to be able to offer a collection of portrait of Russian and Turkish generals of war to the Library of the Great Duke of Saxony-Weimar, through Liszt. Liszt wrote to him, on 5 April 1855:

“Mon cher Monsieur Szathmary,

Monseigneur le Grand Duc a été empêché de vous recevoir hier mais vient de me savoir qu'il lui sera fort agréable de parcourir votre intéressant album ce matin à l'heure. Je viendrai en consequence vous chercher à l'Hôtel de Russie à une heure moins un quart, pour vous conduire au Château –, et de la je vous prie de nous fair le plaisir de venir à l'Altenburg.

Mille compliments affectueusement distingués

Jeudi 5 Avril 1855

F. Liszt”

Ortansa Szathmary's collection published by G. Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 22. Liszt invited him, in the end to dine together at Altenburg, then the dwelling place of the composer and his friend, Princess Wittgenstein.

56 The princess addressed a letter to Szathmary, probably also in April:

“Voici Monsieur, la carte de Liszt pour Kaulbach et une lettre pour Paris – dans laquelle je préviens M-me Patersi que vous aurez la bonté de faire les photographies et j'ose même vous demander cela de les faire relier vous même en beau maroquin rouge avec filets, enjolivements et tranches dorées, par un des bons relieurs de Paris, dans l'ordre suivant:

- 1). La mère de liszt – M-me Liszt
- 2). M-elle Blandine, l'aînée de ses filles
- 3). M-elle Cosima la seconde
- 4). Daniel, son fils
- 5). M-me Patersi, leur gouvernante
- 6). M-me St. Mars, sa soeur

Excusez-moi de vous prier de prendre sur vous ce soin, mais M-me Patersi étant déjà fort agée, je me ferais scrupule de la charger de cette commission, que vous seres d'ailleurs à même de faire mieux remplir. Le prix total du volume, photographies et reliure comprises, vous sera immédiatement remboursé par elle, avec mille remerciements de notre part à tous. Vous pouvez lire avant de la lui remettre la lettre que je vous donne pour elle, et vous verrez que je tiens à ce que ce recueil de portraits soit tres joliment fait, étant destiné à former un souvenir qui fera grand plaisir. Veuillez aussi faire mettre sur le volume en chiffres d'or, aussi riches que possible, la date 1855, rien de plus.

Je vous remercie beaucoup pour le choix que vous m'avez laissé, au sujet des aquarelles. Les copies sont si parfaites, qu'elles me perdent rien à la comparaison. Si je m'en tiens au premières, c'est par suite d'une



Fig. 32

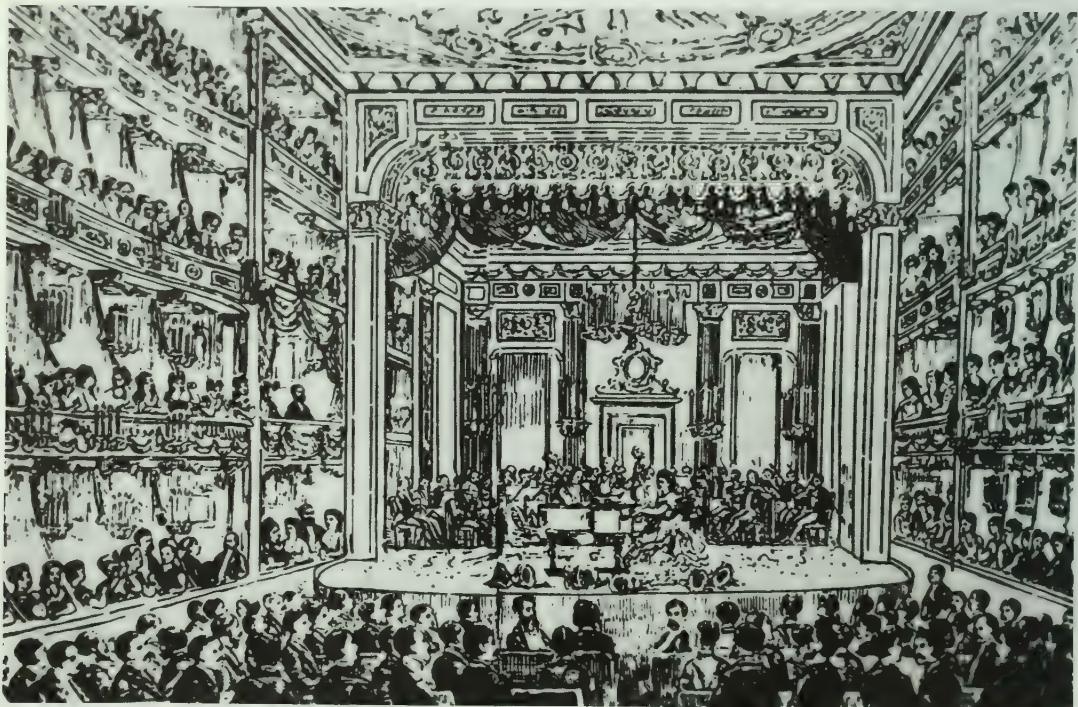


Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37

Szathmary's friendship with Liszt, his close relations with the intelligentsia of the great European centers, as well as of his own country, show that Szathmary really liked and appreciated music. Moreover, his interest in the musical life of Bucharest is documented by a beautifully accomplished pen drawing (*fig. 33*), featuring a concert of the Romanian Philharmonic Society in Bucharest, in the National Theater Hall⁵⁷.

The musicologist Viorel Cosma tried to determine the time when the scene must have been recorded, the precise concert attended by Szathmary in that sumptuous interior. The Romanian musicologist mentioned two hypotheses worth taking into account, namely: (a) the concert of 4 April 1881, which marked "the first performance of a Bucharest female pianist, with the Romanian Philharmonic Society"—i.e., Emilia Saegiu, who played Concerto No. 2 in E minor by Frederic Chopin and the Fantasy for piano and orchestra "The Ruins of Athens" by Franz Liszt, or (b) the concert of 9 March 1886, when pianist Elena Bibescu played Concerto No. 5 in E flat major for piano and orchestra by Ludwig

Eigenthümlichkeit, qui m'est peut-être particulière. Voici la note et le prix de ce que je vous dois, Monsieur, avec mille remerciements pour le volume et les photographies, que je vous demande de me faire à Paris.

Recevez, je vous prie, tout nos vœux pour votre heureux voyage et l'assurance du plaisir que nous avons en à faire votre connaissance, avec l'expression de notre consideration fort distinguée. croyez. [line]

(P.S.) Ma fille vous envoie ses compliments et vous demande de ne pas trouver indiscrete si elle vous prie de lui permettre le choix du fumeur d'opium encore. Je suis persuadée qu'elle gardera celui qu'elle a, mais cette figure étant très caractéristique, elle voudrait être sure de n'avoir pas la plus hâtivement faite. Cella vous prove seulement le prix qu'elle attache aux choses dues à votre pinceau. C."

Ortansa Szathmary's collection, published by H. Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 23. Among the watercolors left at Altenburg by Szathmary, the picture mentioned must have been one with an Oriental subject matter.

57 Published in the 1986 *Calendar* edited by the Romanian Composer's Union.

van Beethoven, apparently for the first time in Romania; both concerts were conducted by Edouard Wachmann.

Szathmary has left hundreds of sketches which never were used for a final product, but are listed among his collected works. Many of his watercolor drawings were done on the spot, while the artist was watching his model. That is the reason I offered the intermediate drawings for only some of the artist's works.

There is no musical theme whatsoever in his photographs—most of which are being preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy⁵⁸.

Conclusion

Attracted by the picturesqueness of folk costumes and the suggestiveness of country people's faces, Szathmary portrays a wide range of characters, among them folk musicians. But the fact that he created a genuine gallery of peasants' portraits, from different regions of the country, and with their traditional costumes, shows that he was not only attracted for aesthetical reasons, but also had a sense for the ethnographical and ethnomusicological. His detailed sketches represent important reference material, which helps us to attribute to a certain time and place specific costumes and musical instruments. They also render the particular atmosphere of markets and fun fairs, as well as different elements of folk dances⁵⁹.

Despite the fact that other painters of the same period, like Theodor Aman (1831–1881), have also, among other things, drawn portraits of folk musicians and traditional Romanian folk dances (see *fig. 34–36*), Szathmary remains unique for the suggestiveness and richness, spontaneity and diversity of his art. Although it does not diminish Aman's unquestionable contribution to the development of Romanian art, one must note that he used a more rigid technique, strongly influenced by academic standards—which was also the reason for him to prefer to work in the studio, rather than the field. The sketches and paintings shown here could become the starting point in a discussion about the two painters' similarities and dissimilarities, which would reveal common themes, especially in the field of ethnomusicology.

58 Emil Girleanu mentioned, in 1909 (see footnote 53), the existence of a photography called "A Concert at the Palace", but in 1941, George Bora (footnote 26) wondered if the photograph still existed.

59 Oprescu (footnote 1), p. 35.

Kompositionen nach Bildern von Arnold Böcklin

Monika Fink

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen

- Fig. 1 Arnold Böcklin, *Im Spiel der Wellen* (1883), Leinwand. München, Neue Pinakothek. – Photo: Museum.
- Fig. 2 Arnold Böcklin, *Der Einsiedler*, (1884), Holz. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. – Photo: Bildarchiv preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
- Fig. 3 Arnold Böcklin, *Villa am Meer* 5. Fassung (1878), Leinwand. Winterthur, Kunstmuseum. – Photo: Museum.
- Fig. 4 Arnold Böcklin, *Der heilige Hain* (1882), Leinwand. Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Photo: Museum.
- Fig. 5 Arnold Böcklin, *Die Toteninsel* 1. Fassung (1880), Holz. Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Photo: Museum.

Reproduktionen mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Besitzer der Vorlagen

* * *

Die Kunstkomplexe Musik und Malerei, die im Ablauf von über 500 Jahren in vielfältiger Weise aufeinander reagiert haben¹, werden durch die seit dem ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts praktizierte, auf Bilder bezugnehmende Programmusik in eine neue, wechselseitige Beziehung gesetzt. Die Versuche des Umsetzens von Bildvorlagen in Musik beginnen — chronologisch gesehen — bereits mit einer Bezugnahme auf prähistorische Höhlenmalereien² und erstrecken sich über sämtliche kunsthistorische Epochen bis in die unmittelbare Gegenwart. Ein Überblick über ca. 700 auf Bildwerke verweisende Kompositionen³ läßt erkennen, daß Werke bestimmter bildender Künstler von den Komponisten bevorzugt als Vorlagen für Vertonungen gewählt worden sind: Bilder von Arnold Böcklin, Albrecht Dürer, Francisco de Goya, Paul Klee, Pablo Picasso und Carl Spitzweg stellen die mit Abstand am häufigsten vertonten Werke der bildenden Kunst dar. Bei Dürer, Goya und Picasso steht die in großem Ausmaß erfolgte musikalische Rezeption in Parallele zur literarischen, da sie auch zu den "meistbedichteten" Künstlern zählen⁴. Bilder von Böcklin, Klee und Spitzweg hingegen wurden in dieser großen Anzahl nur in der Musik reflektiert. Dies liegt darin begründet, daß bei allen drei Künstlern — auf jeweils unterschiedliche Weise — Musik für ihr Werk selbst von entscheidender Bedeutung ist.

Arnold Böcklin und die Musik

Arnold Böcklin erstrebte in seinen Bildern eine Synthese der Künste im Medium einer Kunst, die die Wirkung der anderen in sich aufnehmen sollte. So zog Böcklin in seinen

1 Siehe Franzsepp Würtenberger, *Musik und Malerei. Die Geschichte des Verhaltens zweier Künste zueinander* (Frankfurt a.M., 1979), sowie Reinhold Hammerstein, "Musik und bildende Kunst. Zur Theorie und Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen", in: *Imago Musicae* I (1984), S. 1–28.

2 Z.B. Zsolt Durkó, *Altamira*. Für Orchester und Singstimmen (1968), (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1969) oder Antoine Tisné, *Altamira*. Für Orgel (1975), Manuskript.

3 Siehe Monika Fink, *Musik nach Bildern. Programmbezogenes Komponieren im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 1988), S. 159–271.

4 Siehe Gisbert Kranz, *Das Bildgedicht. Theorie, Lexikon, Bibliographie*, 2 Bde. (Köln & Wien, 1981).

Bildern zur Erweiterung ihres Aussagewertes häufig die Dichtkunst heran, verwendete literarische Staffagen und dokumentierte die gemeinsame Grundlage dieser Künste auch in einem Bildwerk: In dem 1882 entstandenen Gemälde "Dichtung und Malerei" schöpfen beide Künste — verkörpert durch zwei Frauengestalten — aus dem gleichen Brunnen.

In seiner Spätzeit begnügte sich Böcklin nicht mit literarischen Anspielungen durch die Gestalten der Dichtung, sondern er wollte das geschriebene Wort selbst an der Bildwirkung beteiligen. So bezog er Sinnsprüche oder auch Verse in seine Bildkompositionen mit ein. Von noch größerem Einfluß als die Literatur war jedoch — wie Böcklins Schüler und Biograph Otto Lasius bemerkt⁵ — die Musik auf die Kunst des Malers.

Arnold Böcklin, der selbst musikalisch tätig war und 1856 mit Anselm Feuerbach, Reinhold Begas und Julius Allgeyer in Rom ein Vokalquartett gründete, anerkannte die gemeinsame Grundlage von Musik und bildender Kunst. Er empfand seine Malereien "aus dem Geiste der Musik"⁶ und wollte auch in dem Beschauer musikalische Wirkungen hervorrufen. Er erklärte 1857: "Wer hätte je geglaubt, wie die Musik wirken könne, bevor er sie gehört? So soll die Malerei die Seele erfüllen können, und solange sie das nicht tut, ist sie eben ein dummes Handwerk"⁷. Sowie weiters: "Ein Bildwerk soll [...] dem Beschauer zu denken geben so gut wie eine Dichtung und ihm Eindruck machen wie ein Tonstück"⁸.

Somit wollte Böcklin durch seine Malkunst nicht nur Seherlebnisse vermitteln, sondern in dem Beschauer auch Stimmungen hervorrufen, die durch das Anhören eines Musikstückes ausgelöst werden können. Zur Erfüllung dieses Zweckes ging Böcklin so weit, daß er Musik auch in den Schaffensvorgang mit hinein nahm und sich bei seiner Arbeit durch Flötenspiel und Glockenklänge inspirieren ließ⁹. Zu einem seiner Werke wurde er auch durch ein konkretes Musikstück angeregt. Rudolf Schick erwähnt in seinen Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, daß Böcklin das neunstimmige, 1638 komponierte "Miserere" von Gregorio Allegri¹⁰ "immer im Sinn wäre und das nächste Bild, das er malen wolle, diesen Inhalt haben solle"¹¹. Aus dieser von Allegris Musik angeregten Bildvision schuf Böcklin 1873 seine "Pietà".

Die zeitgenössische Kunst- und Geisteswelt hat Böcklins Idee einer musikalisierten Malerei verstanden. So empfand etwa der Philosoph Georg Simmel in seinem 1897 geschriebenen Aufsatz "Böcklins Landschaften"¹² die Landschaftskunst Böcklins als Einlösung der Forderung, die Schopenhauer an die Musik erhob: "Vielleicht hat niemals eine andere Kunst vor Böcklin so nahe an dieses rätselhafte Wesen der Musik herangereicht, daß sie, wie Schopenhauer sagt, als ein ganz vertrautes und doch ewig fremdes Paradies an uns vorüberzieht. Niemals vielleicht außer in der Musik hat die Stimmung so sehr ihre Materie verzehrt [...] Denn diese Quellen [...], die Haine [...], ja die Tiere, Halbtiere und

5 Siehe Württenberger (Fußnote 1), S. 75.

6 Max F. Schneider, *Arnold Böcklin. Ein Maler aus dem Geiste der Musik* (Basel, 1943).

7 Zitiert bei Hans Dollinger, *Arnold Böcklin – Texte* (München, 1975), S. 13.

8 Zitiert bei Heinrich A. Schmid, *Arnold Böcklin* (München, 1919), S. 14.

9 Siehe Adolf Frey, *Arnold Böcklin. Nach Erinnerungen seiner Zürcher Freunde* (Stuttgart, 1912), S. 120.

10 Siehe die Neuausgabe, herausgegeben von Felix Haberl (Ausburg, 1936).

11 Rudolf Schick, *Tagebuch-Aufzeichnungen aus den Jahren 1866–1869 über Arnold Böcklin* (Berlin, 1903), S. 102.

12 Georg Simmel, "Böcklins Landschaften", in: *Zur Philosophie der Kunst. Philosophische und kunstphilosophische Aufsätze* (Potsdam, 1922), S. 7–16, besonders S. 10.

Menschen haben kein Sein, keine Wirklichkeit weiter außer als Träger einer Stimmung, sie sind völlig in sie eingegangen”¹³.

Böcklin selbst äußerte sich kaum zu seinen Bildern und überließ sie auf diese Weise dem subjektiven Erleben des Betrachters. Das Aufgehen der dargestellten Materie in der Stimmung, der poetische Gehalt seiner Kunst, der Abstand von einer deutlichen, eine eindeutige Interpretation ermöglichenden Konkretisierung, der bei Böcklin so weit ging, daß er bemerkte, “man solle keinen Bildern Namen geben müssen”¹⁴, lassen seine Gemälde zu einer von Komponisten bevorzugten Inspirationsquelle werden. Bevor wir uns diesen Musikwerken zuwenden, seien kurz Böcklins Stil und seine Bildinhalte beschrieben.

Die meisten seiner Bilder enthalten Fragen nach dem Sinn des Lebens, seiner Freuden bzw. seiner Sorgen und Gedanken der Melancholie sowie des Todes und kommen somit der *Fin de Siècle*-Stimmung entgegen. Das *Fin de Siècle*, eingeleitet durch den nach 1885 in Frankreich entstandenen literarischen Symbolismus, der dann auch auf die Malerei übergang, entwickelte sich in national leicht unterschiedlich gefärbten Bewegungen, wie Art Nouveau und Jugendstil, zu einem Phänomen, das ungefähr bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts aktuell blieb.

Arnold Böcklin, der sich mit seiner mythologisierenden und symbolistischen Kunst sowohl von der Historienmalerei als auch vom Naturalismus und Impressionismus absetzte, blieb bis 1885 ein verkannter Einzelgänger. Hand in Hand mit dem Aufkommen von Symbolismus und Jugendstil ging der Aufstieg Böcklins zu einer gründerzeitlichen “Bildungsmacht”¹⁵, die sich u.a. darin dokumentierte, daß “zwischen 1885 und 1900 [...] in keinem guten Bürgerhause die Reproduktionen Böcklin’scher Bilder, die ‘Toteninsel’, das ‘Schloß am Meer’, der ‘Frühlingstag’ u.a., fehlen durften”¹⁶.

“Sancta Aesthetica, die wankelmütigste der Frauen, hat vor der Tiefe und Innerlichkeit des Meisters ihre Grundsätze geändert”, bemerkte Cornelius Gurlitt¹⁷. Josef Simko sprach im Zusammenhang mit der Begeisterung für Böcklins Gemälde von einem “Böcklin-Fieber”¹⁸, Alfred Lichtwark von “Mode” und “Massensuggestion”¹⁹.

Mit dem Niedergang des Jugendstils begann auch Böcklins Kunst als unzeitgemäß zu erscheinen. Das Signal hierfür setzte Julius Meier-Graefe mit seinen polemischen Schriften, in welchen er Böcklin zu einem “Fall” machte²⁰ und als “Block [...], der vor der Zukunft lag”, bezeichnete²¹. Auch wenn Meier-Graefe mit entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Thesen argumentierte, die sich angesichts der nachfolgenden Kunstrichtungen nicht ausschließlich bewährten, so wird durch ihn doch unmittelbar deutlich, daß die Popularität Böcklins bei den Kunstkritikern zu schwinden begann²². Auch die Entgegnungen, die die

13 Ebenda. Siehe auch Dollinger (Fußnote 7), S. 51.

14 Zitiert bei Gustav Floerke, *Arnold Böcklin und seine Kunst* (München, 1921), S. 28.

15 Jürgen Wißmann, *Arnold Böcklin und das Nachleben seiner Malerei. Studien zur Kunst der Jahrhundertwende* (Münster, 1968), S. 6.

16 Arnold Böcklin, *Leben und Werk in Daten und Bildern*, hrsg. von L. Tittel (Frankfurt a.M., 1977), S. 191.

17 Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900), S. 632.

18 Josef Simko, *Böcklin-Fieber* (Budapest, 1898).

19 Alfred Lichtwark, *Die Seele und das Kunstwerk* (Berlin, 1899), S. 40f.

20 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Der Fall Böcklin und die Lehre von den Einheiten* (Stuttgart, 1905).

21 Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1904), Bd. 2, S. 452.

22 Siehe hierzu auch Susanne Shigihara, “Max Reger und die bildende Kunst”, in *Reger-Studien 2. Neue Aspekte der Reger-Forschung*, hrsg. von Susanne Shigihara (Wiesbaden, 1986), S. 135–174, insbesondere S. 143f.

Streitschriften hervorriefen²³, änderten nichts daran, daß Böcklin nach 1910 mehr und mehr in Vergessenheit geriet und lediglich während des Ersten Weltkrieges sowie in der nationalsozialistischen Zeit eine nochmalige, kurze Wertschätzung erfuhr.

Musik nach Bildern von Arnold Böcklin

Ebenso wie Arnold Böcklin Elemente der Schwesternkünste Dichtung und Musik in seine Bilder mitaufnahm, so wirkten diese auf die beiden anderen Medien wieder zurück. Um die Jahrhundertwende — in der Hochzeit der Böcklin-Verehrung — entstanden als Folge eines modischen Trends sowohl Bildgedichte²⁴ als auch Instrumentalvertonungen nach Gemälden von Böcklin. Diese vorwiegend symphonischen Werke wurden zwischen 1890 und 1915 in dichter Folge geschrieben. Das am Ende der Arbeit angefügte Verzeichnis enthält zwanzig Kompositionen, die auf insgesamt achtzehn verschiedene Bilder des Malers verweisen. Hierbei stellt Böcklins "Toteninsel" (K 13)²⁵, die bei zehn Kompositionen als Werküberschrift aufscheint, das am häufigsten ausgewählte Bild dar, gefolgt von den Gemälden "Der Einsiedler" (K 2), das sechsmal vertont wurde, und "Im Spiel der Wellen" (K 1), das bei fünf Autoren das Programm für Tonstücke bildete. Die Gemälde "Heiliger Hain" (K 4) und "Liebesfrühling" (K 6) wurden jeweils dreimal vertont, die Bilder "Villa am Meer" (K 3), "Gefilde der Seligen" (K 7) sowie "Bacchanale" (K 12) jeweils zweimal. Ansonsten wiederholen sich die in den Satzüberschriften der Kompositionen aufscheinenden Bildtitel nicht.

Bevor die einzelnen Böcklin-Vertonungen nun besprochen werden, seien einige allgemeine Bemerkungen über die Vorgangsweisen bei Bild-Vertonungen eingefügt. Werke der bildenden Kunst dienten — wie bereits erwähnt — von Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts an bis zur Gegenwart als kompositorisches Mittel zur *ars inveniendi*. Hierbei lassen sich verschiedene konzeptuelle Möglichkeiten des Anknüpfens an Bildwerke, die zum Teil durch das Bildprogramm selbst bestimmt werden, klassifizieren²⁶. So finden sich etwa bei Bildern, die erzählenden Charakter besitzen, bzw. deren Darstellungen mit musikalischen Mitteln "nacherzählt" werden können, wie z.B. bei bildlich angezeigten Bewegungsvorgängen, konkrete, narrative Beziehungen zu den Bildvorlagen. Das Bildhafte wird hierbei nachzeichnend in die Ebene der Zeit übersetzt; die Musik gibt mit Einsatz tonmalerischer Mittel als Ablauf wieder, was das Bild als Moment festhält. Ebenso können Kompositionen in Entsprechung zu strukturellen Ordnungen und Farbkombinationen der Bildprogramme gestaltet werden. Bei diesem Verfahren, das vorwiegend bei Vertonungen von abstrakten Bildern angewandt wird, tritt anstelle einer tonmalerischen Deskription die Gestaltung von Analogem mit den der jeweiligen Kunst eigenen Mitteln, wobei in den Musikabläufen die Struktur der Bildvorlagen erkennbar ist, und somit in der Malerei und in der Musik vergleichbare Formen und Gestaltungen erzeugt werden.

23 Z.B. Erwin Schur, *Der Fall Meier-Graefe* (Großlichternfelde-West, 1905).

24 Siehe Kranz (Fußnote 4), 1. Bd., S. 441.

25 "K" verweist auf die Nummer des Katalogs der Kunstwerke, "V" auf die Nummer des Verzeichnisses der Kompositionen.

26 Siehe Fink (Fußnote 3), S. 23–60.



Fig. 1

Neben einer tonmalerischen Deskription oder einer strukturellen Entsprechung finden sich zahlreiche Bildvertonungen, bei denen die Autoren einem Bild dessen Grundstimmung entnehmen und diese in einem Musikwerk wiedergeben. Hierbei entspricht im Ergebnis der Gesamteindruck des Bildes dem der Musik. Musikalische Stimmungsbilder gehen auf keine Einzelheiten der Bildvorlagen ein und bezeichnen nichts konkret. Dennoch vermittelt die Musik mehr als nur sich selbst, da das Programm in Form eines Bildgehaltes in sie integriert wird und dieser Gehalt durch allgemeine, analoge Begriffsbildung gekennzeichnet werden kann. Bei den Bildvorlagen, die die Inspiration zu musikalischen Stimmungsbildern geben, handelt es sich vorwiegend um Allegorien, um Bilder mit mythologischen Themen oder mit meditativ-religiöser Thematik, um Landschaftsbilder sowie um Portraits.

Eine weitere Möglichkeit des Umsetzens von Bildvorlagen in Musik ergibt sich durch symbolische Bildübertragungen, wobei die verwendeten musikalischen Themen, Formen oder auch Instrumente mit dem Inhalt, der Aussage oder der Entstehungszeit eines Bildes im Zusammenhang stehen und diese symbolisieren.

Von diesen am häufigsten aufscheinenden Möglichkeiten des Komponierens nach Bildern findet sich bei Kompositionen nach Bildern von Arnold Böcklin eine tonmalerische Nachgestaltung von bildhaft Vorgegebenem bei den Vertonungen des Gemäldes "Im Spiel

Quasi Presto.

This musical score is for a piece titled 'Quasi Presto.' by Hans Huber. It features a complex arrangement of instruments. At the top, there is a staff for 'Cl' (Clarinet) and a 'Solo' section. Below this is a 'Harfe' (Harp) staff. The middle section includes staves for 'Erste Solo Violine.' (First Solo Violin) and 'Zweite Solo Violine.' (Second Solo Violin). The bottom section consists of multiple staves for a string ensemble, with various performance markings such as 'pizz.' (pizzicato), 'arco' (arco), and 'pp' (pianissimo). The score is written in a multi-measure rest format, indicating a long, sustained piece.

Notenbeispiel 1: Hans Huber (V 4) – Abdruck mit Genehmigung von Hug & Co., Zürich

Zi.Bff.

This musical score is for a piece titled 'Zi.Bff.' by Felix Woyrsch. It features a complex arrangement of instruments. At the top, there is a staff for 'Harfe' (Harp). Below this is a staff for 'Zi.Bff.' (Zither). The middle section includes staves for a string ensemble, with various performance markings such as 'div.' (divisi), 'pizz' (pizzicato), and 'mf' (mezzo-forte). The score is written in a multi-measure rest format, indicating a long, sustained piece.

Notenbeispiel 2: Felix Woyrsch (V 19 Nr. 3) – Abdruck mit Genehmigung von Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden

Moderato.

PIANO. *p ma sonoro*

Assai mosso ed agitato.

Notenbeispiel 3: Giacomo Orefice (V 10 Nr. 6) – Abdruck mit Genehmigung von Ricordi & Co., Mailand

Appassionato. M.M. $\text{♩} = 108$.

PIANO. *p*

mf

f

sopra

Notenbeispiel 4: Ludomir Rozycki (V 13) – Abdruck mit Genehmigung des Albert Stahl Musikverlag, Inhaber Annemarie Budde, Berlin

der Wellen" (K 1; *Fig. 1*) sowie bei Max Regers Komposition (V 12 Nr. 4) zu dem Bild "Bacchanale" (K 12).

Arnold Böcklin, der sich in verschiedenen Varianten mit Meeresszenen befaßt hat²⁷, zeigt in seinem "Spiel der Wellen" das Treiben der Wassermänner, die in den wogenden Wellen Nixen und Najaden verfolgen. An den im Bild angezeigten Bewegungsablauf der Meereswogen knüpfen sämtliche Komponisten bei ihren Vertonungen des Bildes an. In den Orchesterwerken von Hans Huber (V 4), Max Reger (V 12 Nr. 2) und Felix Woyrsch (V 19 Nr. 3) sowie in den Klavierstücken von Giacomo Orefice (V 10 Nr. 6) und Ludomir Rozycki (V 13) wird das kontinuierliche Herannahen und Verebben der Wogen mittels auf- und abwärtsgeführter Figuren, Zerlegungen oder Skalen tonmalerisch nachgeahmt (*Notenbeispiele 1–4*). Bei Max Reger bringen zudem die kontrastreiche Dynamik und die durch die Reihung ungeradtaktiger Abschnitte sowie durch das hohe Tempo sich ergebenden metrischen Effekte eine Verbindung zur Dynamik der Bildvorlage. Die hierfür angewandten Kunstmittel der "Variation des motivischen Materials und seine imitatorische Verarbeitung durch alle Instrumentalgruppen können rein musikalisch, aber auch als Auf- und Untertauchen, Aufblitzen und Versinken der mythischen Gestalten gedeutet werden"²⁸.

Auch in dem Satz "Bacchanale" (V 12 Nr. 4) zu Böcklins Darstellung der trunkenen Götter (K 12) versucht der Komponist, den Inhalt der Vorlage musikalisch nachzugestalten. Die überstürzenden Einsätze und Beschleunigungen, die metrischen, die Gesetze der Periodik aufhebenden Unregelmäßigkeiten sowie die gewundenen chromatischen Linien stellen ein "wohlkalkuliertes, auskomponiertes Durcheinander dar, das seine außermusikalische Berechtigung [...] in der Trunkenheit der Götter findet"²⁹.

Der Komponist selbst bemerkte hierzu: "Ich gestehe sehr gerne zu, daß das Bacchanal ein Stück Musik ist, das an Wildheit, Taumel und Dionysischer Laune seinesgleichen sucht. Ein Musiker machte die originelle Bemerkung: es käme ihm vor, als ob am Schlusse Vater Zeus mit seinen Göttern gar arg betrunken wäre"³⁰.

Bei den übrigen als Programme für Kompositionen ausgewählten Bildern von Arnold Böcklin ist eine musikalische Umsetzung mit konkreter, nachgestaltender Bezugnahme zu den Bildvorlagen nicht möglich. Die Gemälde sind in erster Linie Träger von Stimmungen; sie wenden sich an das Empfinden und enthalten weder Handlungen, die musikalisch illustrierbar wären, noch strukturelle Konzeptionen, die musikalisch nachgestaltet werden könnten. Lediglich der Stimmungsgehalt der Bilder kann auf die Musikwerke übertragen werden.

So ist etwa für Böcklins Bild des vor einem Marienbilde geigenden Einsiedlers (K 2; *Fig. 2*) sowie für die hierzu komponierten Werke von Huber (V 4), Orefice (V 10 Nr. 5), Reger (V 12 Nr. 1), Rückbeil (V 14), Schmalstich (V 15) und Woyrsch (V 19 Nr. 2) der kontemplative Gehalt bestimmend. 1905 schrieb Johannes Manskopf zu Böcklins Bild:

27 Siehe Andrea Linnebach, "Böcklins Meeresszenen: 'Klassische' Ikonographie und Deutsche Mythologie", in: *In uns selbst liegt Italien. Die Kunst der Deutsch-Römer*, hrsg. von Christoph Heilmann (München, 1987), S. 60–69.

28 Susanne Popp, in: Vorwort zur Taschenpartitur von Max Reger, *Vier Tondichtungen für großes Orchester nach Arnold Böcklin op. 128*. Eulenburg-Taschenpartitur (in Vorbereitung).

29 Ebenda.

30 Max Reger, *Briefwechsel mit Herzog Georg II. von Sachsen-Meiningen*, hrsg. von Hedwig und E.H. Müller von Asow (Weimar, 1949), S. 525.



Fig. 2

“Die Wahrheit, Einfachheit und Stärke der Empfindung, die glückliche Mischung von weihelvollem Ernst, zarter Poesie und anmutiger Heiterkeit machen das Werk zu einem Stimmungsbild voll religiös-sittlichen Gehalts, das sich hoch über das Niveau der Genrebilder gewöhnlichen Schlages erhebt”³¹. Kontemplative, besinnliche Stimmungsbilder stellen auch die hiezu komponierten Musikwerke dar.

Zudem wird in den genannten Vertonungen die gedankliche Verbindung zum bildhaften Vorwurf durch die Verwendung von kirchentonaler Harmonik erleichtert. Max Reger beispielsweise bevorzugt in seinem archaisierten Orchesterstück den phrygischen Schluß. Der Komponist bemerkt zu diesem Satz: “Geradezu überirdisch klingt der ‘Geigende Eremit’, wo die zartesten, weichsten Farben mit alten Palestrina-Harmonien ein ganz merkwürdiges Stimmungsbild geben”³². In diesem Satz “erklärt die Absicht, den Ausdruck des feierlich Verfremdeten, überirdisch Schwebenden wiederzugeben, die Musik der auskomponierten Übergänge: in 101 Takten wechselt das Tempo 33 x zwischen stringendo, ritardando und a tempo”³³. Auch die Wandlungen der Dynamik, die Verschleierung der Taktschwerpunkte, die Auflösung der Melodik sowie die Modulationen auf kleinem Raum stehen in diesem Zusammenhang.

In Anlehnung an die religiöse Thematik des Bildes setzt Clemens Schmalstich choralartige Bläser- bzw. Streichereinwürfe; bei den Kompositionen von Hans Huber und Hugo Rückbeil scheint Orgelbegleitung auf. Der Darstellung der Geige im Bild wird in den Orchesterwerken zu Böcklins Einsiedler (Huber, Reger, Schmalstich, Woyrsch) durch die Verwendung der Solovioline entsprochen.

Die Komponisten Nikolaj Kazanli (V 6) und Bohuslav Martinů (V 9) vertonten Böcklins Gemälde “Villa am Meer” (K 3; *Fig. 3*), einen Topos, mit dem sich der Maler seit 1859 beschäftigt hatte. Sämtliche dieser Bilder, in denen eine Villa, ein Schloß, eine Burg oder eine Kapelle im Zustand des beginnenden oder fortschrittlichen Verfalls gezeigt wird, verdeutlichen die Überzeitlichkeit der Natur gegenüber der Vergänglichkeit der irdischen Werke.

Bei dem für die Vertonungen ausgewählten, in mehreren Fassungen erhaltenen Motiv der “Villa am Meer” erhebt sich auf einem in das Meer hinausragenden Felsen eine Villa mit Säulenhalle und Balustradenfiguren, wobei das eigentliche Gebäude weitgehend durch Bäume verdeckt wird. Die gegenüber dem niederen Bau monumental wirkenden Zypressen symbolisieren die Übermacht der Natur. In diesem Kontext stehen auch die zerstörten Bauteile auf der linken Seite des Bildes sowie die schwarz verhüllte, bewegungslos aufs Meer blickende Frauengestalt, die Arnold Böcklin als den “letzten Sproß einer alten Familie” gesehen hat³⁴. Zeitgenössische Kritiker sprachen von den “melancholischen Reizen dieser abendlichen Farbenwelt”³⁵, sowie von der “wunderbaren Trauer und Melancholie”, die durch das Bild geht³⁶. Dieser Tenor im Stimmungsgehalt des Bildes ist auch bestimmend für die Kompositionen von Kazanli und Martinů. Das Orchesterwerk von Martinů entstand während des Ersten Weltkrieges und ist der letzte und als einziger

31 Johannes Manskopf, *Böcklins Kunst und Religion* (München, 1905), S. 52.

32 Siehe Reger-Briefwechsel (Fußnote 30), S. 525.

33 Siehe Popp (Fußnote 28).

34 Rudolf Schick, *Tagebuch-Aufzeichnungen aus den Jahren, 1866, 1868, 1869 über Arnold Böcklin*, hrsg. von H. v. Tschudi (Berlin, 1901), S. 76.

35 *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2.10.1860, Nr. 273, Beilage, S. 1f.

36 Siehe Schick (Fußnote 34), S. 290.



Fig. 3

erhaltene der „Vier Symphonischen Tänze“. Martinů erblickte das Gemälde erstmals auf einer Postkarte aus dem Museum von Sofia, in welchem es sich befand³⁷. Böcklins Motiv der „Villa am Meer“ war für den dritten Teil einer geplanten Ballett-Trilogie — erster Teil: Die Nacht, zweiter Teil: Der Schatten — ausersehen; der Plan wurde jedoch nicht verwirklicht.

In seiner „Villa am Meer“ fügte Martinů dem großen Orchester noch Klavier hinzu — was für seine Instrumentierung in der Folgezeit zum unerläßlichen Merkmal wurde — und nützte hiebei den Kontrast zwischen dem Fortissimo im Orchester-Tutti und dem Piano auf dem Klavier aus. Die Verbindung dieses langsamen Satzes zu seinem Bildprogramm besteht vorrangig durch den elegischen Stimmungsgehalt. Wie Böcklins Gemälde ist auch Martinůs Komposition „von stiller Trauer“ erfüllt³⁸. Ein weiterer Bezug zu Böcklin ergibt sich durch die neoklassizistische Klangsprache, mit welcher Martinů dem Stil und der Idee der Vorlage entspricht.

Feierlicher, erhabener Stimmungsgehalt ist kennzeichnend für Böcklins Gemälde „Der heilige Hain“ (K 4; Fig. 4), in welchem die antike Mythologie eine symbolistische Wie-

37 Siehe Miloš Šafránek, *Bohuslav Martinů, Leben und Werk* (Kassel, 1964), S. 72f.

38 Harry Halbreich, *Bohuslav Martinů, Werkverzeichnis, Dokumentation und Biographie* (Zürich, 1968), S. 216.



Fig. 4

deraufwertung erfährt. Dieser Darstellung einer Altarzeremonie am Ende einer Allee war, ebenso wie der "Toteninsel" (K 13; Fig. 5), wegen der feierlich erhabenen Stimmung um die Jahrhundertwende ein sensationeller Erfolg beschieden: "Die Popularität von 'Toteninsel' oder 'Heiligem Hain' ist später nur noch von Vincent van Goghs 'Sonnenblumen' oder Franz Marcs 'Roten Pferden' erreicht worden", bemerkt Ewald Rathke³⁹.

Angesichts der Begeisterung für Böcklins "Heiligen Hain" konnten auch musikalische Reflexionen nicht ausbleiben; die Komponisten Kurt Lubbe (V 7) und Fritz Lubrich (V 8 Nr. 2) verfaßten ein Orchesterstück bzw. ein Orgelstück zu diesem Gemälde. In beiden Kompositionen wird die erhebende Feierlichkeit und weihevollen Stimmung des Bildes auf die Musikwerke übertragen. Bei dem Orgelstück von Lubrich, das einen choralartigen Mittelteil aufweist, vermittelt der 6/4-Rhythmus einen an den Topos der Pastorale gemahnenden Weiheton, der dem Gehalt des Bildes entspricht.

Auch im ersten dieser "romantisierenden Tonstücke", dem Böcklins Gemälde "Das Schweigen des Waldes" zugrundeliegt (K 5), nähert sich der Komponist dem bildhaften Vorwurf von der stimmungsmäßigen Seite. In diesem Gemälde, das als Hauptwerk von Böcklins Zürcher Jahren gilt, erscheint eine scheinbar regungslos auf einem Einhorn

39 Ewald Rathke, "Zur Kunst Arnold Böcklins", in: *Arnold Böcklin. Katalog der Ausstellung Kunstverein* (Frankfurt a.M., 1964), S. 8.



Fig. 5

reitende Jungfrau, die aus dem Dunkel der Bäume heraustritt und gleichsam “als Personifizierung der unheimlichen und geheimnisvollen Stille des Waldes” gilt⁴⁰. Die Wirkung des Unheimlichen und Mystischen wird durch die Farbgebung des Bildes — den Kontrast des dunklen Waldesinneren mit dem schmalen Streifen des hellen Himmels zwischen den dunklen Bäumen — verstärkt.

Diese geheimnisvolle Stimmung ist auch für das kurze Orgelstück von Lubrich kennzeichnend. Der Komponist erreicht diese mit Klangwirkungen, die sich durch die charakterisierende Registrierung ergeben. Mit entsprechenden Registrierungsanweisungen (z.B. “lichte Registrierung”, “Echowerk”) wird die geheimnisvolle Stimmung des Bildes auf das hiezu komponierte Musikwerk übertragen.

Alle drei Tonstücke nach Böcklin weisen eine überlastete Harmonik auf und sind stark mit Chromatik durchsetzt — Merkmale, die auf Lubrichs Lehrer Max Reger hindeuten. Dessen “Vier Tondichtungen nach Arnold Böcklin” (V 12), wie Lubrichs Komposition im Sommer des Jahres 1913 entstanden, haben die Überschrift des dritten Satzes mit dem letzten Satztitel von Lubrich gemein. “Wie Lubrich gern betonte, hat ihm sein Lehrer die Priorität des Sujets ausdrücklich bestätigt; Reger schrieb also sein Werk ein wenig später”⁴¹.

40 Rolf Andree, *Arnold Böcklin, Die Gemälde* (München & Basel, 1977), S. 460.

41 Fritz Feldmann, “Fritz Lubrich”, in: *Musik des Ostens* 6 (1971), S. 29–32.

Während Kazanli, Martinů, Lubbe und Lubrich melancholisch-elegische Bilder als Programme für ihre Musikwerke wählten, beziehen sich die Komponisten Blon, Eibenschütz und Weingartner auf Bildvorlagen, in denen Böcklin der heiteren Lebensfreude und ruhigen Gelöstheit Ausdruck verleiht: Es sind dies die Gemälde "Liebesfrühling" und "Gefilde der Seligen".

Aus dem Motiv des "Liebesfrühlings" (K 6), in dem Böcklin in drei Varianten nach einem zeitlos idealistischen Frühlingsbild suchte, wird das Dekorative, Ornamentale in die beiden Tondichtungen von Franz Blon und José Eibenschütz übernommen (V 1, V 2) und mittels der Bevorzugung der hohen Tonbereiche, einer durchsichtigen Instrumentierung sowie der Verzierungen zu verdeutlichen versucht.

Die "Gefilde der Seligen" (K 7), in einer weiteren Fassung des Motivs als "Lebensinsel" bezeichnet, bilden das Gegenstück zu Böcklins "Toteninsel". Die paradiesische Landschaft mit lichten Baumgruppen, die unbeschwert tanzenden Fabelwesen in Begleitung von Schwänen, den Symbolen der Sinnesfreude, sowie die helle Farbe des Bildes veranschaulichen einen utopischen Zustand der Harmonie zwischen Mensch und Natur und bringen eine gelöste, ungetrübte Heiterkeit zum Ausdruck. Das Motiv zu seinem Gemälde, in dem der romantischen "Wassergeistthematik" gehuldigt wird, erhielt Böcklin durch Verse von Eichendorff⁴². Dem Maler schwebte hiebei "die Rückkehr der Toten über das Wasser vor, da sich in dem malerischen Vergehen des einzelnen im Unendlichen uralte Erlösungsgedanken widerspiegeln"⁴³.

Der Komponist Felix Weingartner schildert den Eindruck, den dieses Gemälde auf ihn machte, in seinen Lebenserinnerungen: "In der Nationalgalerie (Berlin) erblickte ich zum ersten Mal ein Bild von Böcklin, und zwar gerade dasjenige, das später in meinem Kunstschaffen eine Rolle spielen sollte, das 'Gefilde der Seligen'. Anfänglich zwar befremdet, war ich mir doch bewußt, einen so starken Eindruck empfangen zu haben, daß ich seit dieser Zeit aufhorchte, wenn der Name Böcklin genannt wurde und keine Gelegenheit versäumte, Bilder von ihm zu sehen. Ich verdankte diesem Meister künstlerische Eingebungen, wie ich sie nur von den größten Werken der Musik und der Dichtkunst empfang"⁴⁴.

Im Jahre 1897 komponierte Weingartner eine Symphonische Dichtung, die den Titel des erwähnten Böcklin-Bildes trägt (V 18). Mit der Vertonung dieses Gemäldes versuchte der in Dalmatien geborene Komponist, seine Liebe zum Süden und zum Meer, die ihn immer wieder nach Italien zog, musikalisch zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Diese Liebe zum Süden teilte Weingartner mit Arnold Böcklin⁴⁵.

Die Tondichtung "Gefilde der Seligen" — lichtetes Gegenstück zur zweiten Symphonischen Dichtung Weingartners mit dem Titel "König Lear" — ist an der spätromantischen Harmonik orientiert und weist Rondoform auf. Das "Gefilde der Seligen" wird mit reichem Harfenklang in Verbindung gebracht: In Weingartners Werk sind die Harfen

42 Siehe Guido Hauck, "Arnold Böcklins 'Gefilde der Seligen' und Goethes 'Faust'", in: *Anthroposophie* 14, Heft 12 (1932), S. 528–539.

43 Ulrich Christoffel, "Böcklin und Hodler", in Christoffel, *Malerei und Poesie. Die symbolistische Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wien, 1948), S. 85–109, insbesondere S. 92.

44 Felix Weingartner, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Wien & Leipzig, 1923), S. 149.

45 Siehe z.B. Brief Arnold Böcklins an Jacob Burckhardt vom 28. Juli 1861, in: "Beiträge zum Verhältnis zwischen Jacob Burckhardt und Arnold Böcklin", in: *Basler Jahrbuch* (1917), S. 267 und 269.

abschnittsweise Träger der musikalischen Ausdeutung. Der Komponist bringt seine Intentionen bei der musikalischen Bildinterpretation durch zahlreiche, die Atmosphäre der Bildvorlage charakterisierende Spielanweisungen (z.B. "scherzoso, grazioso", 16 Takte vor Ziffer 9; "leicht und heiter", 2 Takte vor Ziffer 23; "pastorale"; 4 Takte vor Ziffer 23; "zart und duftig", 1 Takt vor Ziffer 30) zum Ausdruck.

Zyklen

Ebenso, wie Arnold Böcklin in seiner Kunst zwischen heiteren und elegischen Bildern wechselte und diese beiden entgegengesetzten Gefühlsmöglichkeiten gelegentlich in Zyklen aufeinander bezog, werden bei einigen Böcklin-Vertonungen in ihrem Stimmungsgehalt kontrastierende Bilder zu zyklischen Werken zusammengestellt.

So verfährt beispielsweise Hans Huber im Schlußsatz seiner 2. Symphonie (V 4). Der Komponist faßte, angeregt durch die Böcklin-Ausstellung des Jahres 1897 in Basel, den Plan, seine Symphonie in e-Moll nach Bildern von Böcklin zu komponieren und mit dem auf Böcklin bezogenen Titel "Sieh, es lacht die Au" zu versehen⁴⁶. Dieser Plan wurde nicht verwirklicht; in der endgültigen Fassung bezieht Huber nur den Finalsatz, den er als "Metamorphosen, angeregt durch Bilder von Böcklin" bezeichnet, auf Bilder des Malers (K 8–11, K 1, K 2, K 7, K 6, K 12). In diesem Satz folgen auf Introduction und Thema neun Variationen, die mit jeweils einem Bildtitel von Böcklin überschrieben sind. In den Variationen wird das Thema weniger verarbeitet als vielmehr — dem Stimmungsgehalt der einzelnen Bilder entsprechend — durch Veränderungen in Tempo, Dynamik, Rhythmik und Harmonik von der stimmungsmäßigen Seite jeweils neu belichtet. Bei den Variationen mit den Überschriften "Flötende Nymphe" (K 10) und "Der Einsiedler" (K 2) wird der Darstellung der Instrumente im Bild durch den Einsatz von Soloflöte bzw. Solovioline entsprochen. Zu dem abschließenden "Bacchanale" (K 12) komponiert Hans Huber einen Walzer. Wie vage und unbestimmt in diesem Finalsatz der Symphonie die Verbindung zu Böcklin bleibt, zeigen die Worte eines Musikkritikers, der bei der Uraufführung des Werkes — in Unkenntnis des Programms — im letzten Satz "ein Abbild des vielgestaltigen Volkslebens mit all seinem bunten Treiben" zu erkennen glaubte⁴⁷.

In der repräsentativsten der Böcklin-Suiten, die von Max Reger stammt, werden vier Tonbilder von jeweils gegensätzlichem Charakter in die Abfolge einer viersätzigen Symphonie gebracht (V 12, K 2, K 1, K 13, K 12). Reger äußerte sich selbst nicht über eine Beziehung seiner Komposition zu ihrem zugrundeliegenden bildhaften Vorwurf. Einen Hinweis auf das Interesse, das er für die Malerei Böcklins gezeigt hat, geben die Lebenserinnerungen von Giorgio de Chirico, denen zufolge Reger ein Album mit Reproduktionen von Böcklin-Bildern besaß.⁴⁸

Max Reger komponierte seine Böcklin-Suite 1913, zu einer Zeit, in der die Blüte der Böcklin-Verehrung bereits vergangen war. Dies läßt erkennen, daß seine Kunstrezeption in Übereinstimmung mit seiner kompositorischen Entwicklung verläuft. Während er sich um 1900 mit seiner Bewunderung für Böcklin auf der Höhe der Zeit befand und kompo-

46 Edgar Refardt, *Hans Huber. Beiträge zur einer Biographie* (Zürich, 1922), S. 106.

47 Gottfried Lochbrunner, "Das erste Schweizerische Tonkünstlerfest in Zürich", in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 40 (1900), S. 219.

48 Giorgio de Chirico, *Memorie della mia vita* (Rom, 1945), S. 84.

sitorisch mit seinen großen Orgelwerken seine avancierteste Position erreichte, wurde er eineinhalb Jahrzehnte später sowohl in seinem Interesse für Böcklin und Klinger als auch in seinem kompositorischen Werk durch seine verstärkte Rückwendung zur Tonalität von der Zeit überholt⁴⁹.

Im folgenden werden nun das meistvertonte Böcklin-Bild, die “Toteninsel”, sowie die darauf bezugnehmenden Musikwerke gesondert besprochen.

Die Toteninsel

In der “Toteninsel” von Arnold Böcklin (K 13; *Fig. 5*) gipfelt die Thematik, die sich durch das gesamte Werk des Malers zieht: die Beschäftigung mit dem Tod, die auch autobiographisch durch das Sterben vieler von Böcklins Kindern sowie durch das Erleben von Epidemien verursacht worden ist. Der konkrete Anlaß für die Entstehung des Bildes war ein Auftrag von Marie Berna, die im April des Jahres 1880 bei Böcklin “ein Bild zum Träumen” bestellte⁵⁰. Hierauf begann Böcklin mit seiner Arbeit an der “Toteninsel”, die er in den nächsten sechs Jahren in fünf Fassungen malte. Böcklin vermittelt auf seinem Bild eine kleine, mit Zypressen — den Symbolen der Wehmut⁵¹ — bewachsene Insel im Meer, auf die ein Fährmann ein Boot mit einer verhüllten, statuarisch wirkenden Gestalt und einem Sarg zuführt. In seinem Bild wollte Böcklin mit malerischen Mitteln völlige Ruhe darstellen. Anlässlich der Ablieferung des Gemäldes an die Auftraggeberin Marie Berna äußerte er: “[...] Sie werden sich hineinträumen können in die dunkle Welt der Schatten [...], bis Sie Scheu haben, die feierliche Stille durch ein lautes Wort zu stören.”⁵² Böcklin wollte sein Bild so still sehen, “daß man erschrickt, wenn angeklopft wird”⁵³.

Die Stille, die das Bild ausstrahlt, mit Tönen zu schildern, ist an sich ein widersinniges Unterfangen. Dennoch zählt gerade die “Toteninsel” zu den am häufigsten vertonten Einzelbildern: Neun Komponisten nahmen um die Jahrhundertwende ihre Inspiration zu Musikwerken von diesem Gemälde. So entstanden sechs Orchesterwerke (V 3, V 5, V 11, V 12 Nr. 3, V 16, V 19 Nr. 1), zwei Klavierstücke (V 10 Nr. 3, V 17) und ein Orgelstück (V 8 Nr. 3), zu denen Böcklins “Toteninsel” das Programm liefert. Weiters ist bei einer Oper — von Eugen Zador (V 20) — der zugrundeliegende Text von Karl Georg Zwerenz an diesem Bild orientiert. Die Handlung spielt auf einer Insel der Toten⁵⁴.

Die Instrumentalvertonungen der “Toteninsel” erfolgten speziell durch Komponisten in Mitteleuropa in der Zeit zwischen 1890 und 1913, was in der Popularität, die das Bild damals in diesem Gebiet besaß, begründet liegt. Böcklins “Toteninsel” entsprach der *Fin de Siècle*-Stimmung, der Zeitströmung des Pessimismus⁵⁵. Bei Betrachtung dieses Gemäldes konnte dem spätromantischen Weltschmerz, dem Kult des Todes und der Melancholie Ausdruck gegeben werden⁵⁶. Die “Toteninsel” wurde um die Jahrhundertwende — im

49 Siehe Shigihara (Fußnote 22), S. 146.

50 Arnold Böcklin, 1827–1901. *Katalog der Ausstellung Kunstmuseum Basel* (Basel, 1977), S. 201.

51 K. Köstlin, *Ästhetik* (Tübingen, 1869), S. 642; Siehe auch Norbert Schneider, “Böcklins ‘Toteninsel’”, in: Arnold Böcklin. *Katalog der Ausstellung Darmstadt* (1977), S. 125, Anm. 64.

52 Brief an Marie Berna vom 29. April, 1880. Siehe *Basler Ausstellungskatalog* (Fußnote 50), S. 201.

53 Zitiert bei Fritz von Ostini, *Arnold Böcklin* (Leipzig, 1923), S. 98.

54 Max Niederberger, *Die Insel der Toten*. Bühnendichtung von Karl Georg Zwerenz (Wien, o.J.).

55 Siehe Thomas Ziegler, *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1911), S. 345.

56 Siehe Philippe Jullian, *Mythen und Phantasmen in der Kunst des Fin de Siècle* (Berlin, 1971), S. 173–181.

Spannungsfeld zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Dekadenz⁵⁷ — zu einer "Ikone des Welt-schmerzes"⁵⁸. Wenn August Strindberg für die Schlußszene seiner "Gespenstersonate" aus dem Jahr 1907 vorschrieb, "das Zimmer müsse verschwinden, und zu angenehmer klingender Musik habe im Hintergrund Böcklins 'Toteninsel' zu erscheinen"⁵⁹, so ist das eine literarische Attitüde nach dem Geschmack der Zeit.

Böcklins Bildern, und hierbei speziell seiner "Toteninsel", wurde um 1900 eine immanente Musikalität zugesprochen, die von Richard Hamann folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt wird: "Ebenfalls ins Mythisch-Religiöse weisen seine heiligen Haine und Toteninseln, die durch eine gewisse Tektonisierung und eine tiefe, märchenhafte Farbigkeit eine Stimmung und Feierlichkeit verbreiten, die aber nicht zum Gottesdienst führen, sondern musikalisch wirken."⁶⁰

Arnold Böcklin wollte bei Betrachtung seiner "Toteninsel" — wie bereits erwähnt — vollkommene Stille und ein gefühlsbetontes, traumhaftes Sich-versenken. Somit würde ein In-Musik-Setzen dieses Bildes in jedem Fall den Intentionen des Malers widersprechen. Ein Musikwerk kann keine Stille wiedergeben, sondern allenfalls über Ruhe reflektieren. Dies liegt jedoch bei einem Großteil der Toteninsel-Vertonungen nicht in der Absicht der Komponisten.

In den Orchesterwerken von Rachmaninow (V 11), Reger (V 12 Nr. 3), Schulz-Beuthen (V 16) und Woyrsch (V 19 Nr. 1) sowie in dem Orgelstück von Lubrich (V 8 Nr. 3) wird der Tod nicht — wie bei Böcklin — als Ruhepunkt und die Insel als Ort der Erlösung angesehen: vielmehr ist das Betroffensein von den Schrecken des Todes sowie das schmerzliche Aufbegehren mit resignativem Werkschluß Gehalt dieser Kompositionen. Während Arnold Böcklin das Bild spannungslos sehen will, wird in den genannten Vertonungen die dynamische Gestaltung vom *pianissimo* — Anfang bis zu emphatischen *Fortissimo* — Ausbrüchen gesteigert, um anschließend in ein resignatives *Piano* zurückzufallen. Stark chromatisch gefärbte Gänge — insbesondere bei Max Reger und Fritz Lubrich — sind hierbei Ausdruck der Klage, die sich zur Anklage steigert. Bei dem Orchesterwerk von Max Reger werden die Intentionen des Komponisten auch durch die rhythmische Gestaltung verdeutlicht: Die von tiefen Bläsern bzw. Pauken zu spielenden Tonrepetitionen in den dunklen Registern in der Folge von Triole und Duole bringen Totenklage und schmerzliche Trauer zum Ausdruck.

Somit stehen die Intentionen der Komponisten in stärkster Diskrepanz zu denen des Malers. Symptomatisch für diese Art der Bilddeutung sind die Worte, die Heinrich Schulz-Beuthen seiner "Toteninsel" voranstellt und nach denen er seine an Franz Liszts Orchestrierungstechnik orientierte Symphonische Dichtung gestaltet: "Mit heiligem Empfinden für die geliebten Verblichenen wählte man in altrömischen Zeiten als Ruhestätte für die Unvergessenen die stillen Felsenkammern einer einsamen Insel im weiten Meere. Der Überlebende sucht die Stätte auf und führt, still trauernd, mit dem Heimgegangenen ein inniges Zwiegespräch. Erfüllt mit wiedererwachtem, unsäglichem Schmerze, umbraust

57 Siehe W. Drost (Hrsg.), *Fortschrittsglaube und Dekadenzbewußtsein im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1986).

58 Franz Zelger, "Invention, Realisation, Degeneration. Böcklin-Motive und ihre Umsetzung auf Postkarten", in: Heilmann (Hrsg.) (Fußnote 27), S. 51.

59 Nikolaus Meier, "Böcklin-Gesänge", in: *Basler Ausstellungskatalog* (Fußnote 50), S. 141.

60 Richard Hamann und Jost Hermand, *Gründerzeit* (Berlin, 1965), S. 247.

von hochsteigenden Meereswogen, verläßt der Leidtragende die Toteninsel, welche immer mehr zurückbleibt und in der Ferne verschwindet”⁶¹.

In ähnlichem Sinne äußert sich auch Max Reger: “In der ‘Toteninsel’ wechselt öde, trostloseste Verzweiflung mit rasenden Schmerzensausbrüchen — am Schlusse dann eine große Verklärung [...]”⁶² Schmerzlich sich aufbäumende Zerknirschung, Schauer und Resignation bestimmen auch die “Toteninsel” von Sergej Rachmaninow, die unter Ausnutzung des großen Orchesterapparates gestaltet ist. Gerade die Todesthematik kam Rachmaninow hiebei entgegen, der die elegische Kompositionsweise Tschaikowskys übernahm, die Salonromantik des *Mal de Siècle* pflegte und in vielen seiner Werke einem für das *Fin de Siècle* charakteristischen Gefühl Ausdruck verlieh, das Thomas Mann als eine “Sympathie mit dem Tode” bezeichnet⁶³. So konnte Rachmaninow der morbiden Neigung der Neuromantik durch die Vertonung des düster-atmosphärischen Gemäldes der “Toteninsel” Ausdruck verleihen.

Wie oftmals bei Vertonungen von Bildern mit Todesthematik⁶⁴ wird diese auch bei Rachmaninow durch die Verwendung der Totensequenz “*Dies irae*” symbolisiert. Die gesamte musikalische Substanz des Werkes beruht auf diesem Motiv sowie auf dem 5/8-Takt, der das Schaukeln des Bootes sowie das Plätschern der Wellen suggerieren soll. Ebenso wie bei den anderen Toteninsel-Vertonungen steht auch hier die labyrinthische Chromatik als Ausdruck der Klage. Der Gang der musikalischen Handlung ist ähnlich dem der Komposition von Schulz-Beuthen: Die fahle, “geräuschlose” Erscheinung des Bootes, die Fahrt durch die Nacht, der leidenschaftliche Abschied von den irdischen Freuden, die Rückkehr des Fährmannes sowie sein Verschwinden in einem langgezogenen *diminuendo al niente*.

Dem Böcklin-Bild am nächsten kommen die Toteninsel-Vertonungen von Giacomo Orefice und von Andreas Hallén. Das kurze, schlichte Klavierstück von Orefice (V 10 Nr. 3) ist aus einer weitgespannten Melodie gestaltet, die von einer ostinaten Figur begleitet wird. Die sich dadurch ergebende Spannungslosigkeit, die durchwegs tiefe Klavierlage und das durchgehende Piano entsprechen dem Bild eher als die oben erwähnten Orchesterwerke.

Durchgehende *pianissimo*-Bezeichnung weist auch die Symphonische Dichtung von Andreas Hallén auf (V 3), eine variative Reihe über einem schlichten Dreiklangsmotiv. Bei dieser Komposition tritt zur bildhaften Vermittlung auch eine literarische hinzu: Der Partitur ist das 1898 entstandene Bildgedicht “Die Todteninsel” von Eugen von Enzberg vorangestellt⁶⁵:

Bei Dämmerchein nach fernen Weiten
der blauen Fluten stille Bahn

61 Heinrich Schulz-Beuthen, *Die Toteninsel* (Hannover: Louis Oertel, 1909).

62 Siehe Reger-Briefwechsel (Fußnote 30).

63 Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin, 1922), S. 428. Siehe hiezu auch Ute Jung, “Thomas Manns Stellung zur Romantik”, in Jung, *Die Musikphilosophie Thomas Manns* (Regensburg, 1969), S. 12–19.

64 Z.B. Franz Liszt, *Totentanz. Paraphrase über “Dies irae”*. Für Klavier und Orchester (1849), (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919) — angeregt durch Francesco Trainis Fresko “Triumph des Todes” im Campo Santo zu Pisa —, oder Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Nohubo remedio* (Nr. 12 aus: 24 *Caprichos* nach Goya), (Ancona & Mailand: Berben, 1970).

65 Siehe Andreas Hallén, *Die Toteninsel* (Berlin: Raabe & Plothow, 1899).

läßt sacht in Traumesbanden gleiten
geheimnisvoll den schwanken Kahn.
Es darf kein Wasserspiegel rühren
kein Windeshauch, kein Ruderschlag.
Als Fährmann stumm den Nachen führen
der Tod zum Felseneiland mag.

Zypressen rauschen, Harfen klingen,
im heil'gen Haine singt der Chor.
Der Geist entfaltet seine Schwingen
befreit zum Licht, er wallt empor!
Auf Kampf und Streit folgt Sabbatwonne
nun endet Trauer, Klage, Pein,
nun haucht der Wahrheit Strahlensonne
ins Herz des Friedens Balsam ein.

Zusammenfassung

Arnold Böcklin weckte durch die enge Verbindung zu Literatur und Musik, die sein Kunstschaffen durchzieht, das Interesse von Dichtern und Komponisten, die Gedichte bzw. Musikwerke zu seinen Gemälden verfaßten. Diese spiegeln die Böcklin-Verehrung wider, die für die Kunstrezeption um die Jahrhundertwende im mitteleuropäischen Raum kennzeichnend ist.

Bei einem Großteil der Kompositionen nach Bildern von Böcklin besteht die Verbindung zwischen der Musik und ihrem zugrundeliegenden Programm durch den Stimmungsgehalt; strukturelle Bezüge bzw. formale Analogien sind nicht vorhanden. Der Verweis auf die konkreten Anknüpfungspunkte der einzelnen Gemälde stellt den Anspruch, sich des Bildgehaltes der Kunstwerke metaphorisch gewiß zu werden. Durch die Verbindung von Bild und Musik wird nicht nur die Aussage der Musikstücke vergrößert, sondern auch der Gehalt der Gemälde Böcklins kann durch eine musikalische Suppletion eine Vertiefung erfahren. Somit kommt den in der heutigen Zeit großteils vergessenen Tonbildern nach Arnold Böcklin im Rahmen des Komponierens nach bildhaften Programmen eine bedeutende Stellung zu.

Katalog der Gemäde

(Reihenfolge der Angaben: Name des Künstlers, Titel des Kunstwerkes, Datierung, Maße, Bildträger, Standort, Abbildungsnachweis)

K 1. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Im Spiel der Wellen. 1883; 180,3 × 237,5 cm; Leinwand, München, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek. – Rolf Andree, *Arnold Böcklin. Die Gemäde*, Basel/München 1977, Kat. Nr. 375.

Vertonungen: V 4 (1897), V 13 (1904), V 10 Nr. 6 (1905), V 19 Nr. 3 (1910), V 12 Nr. 2 (1913).

K 2. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Der Einsiedler. 1884; 90 × 69 cm; Holz; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 384.

Vertonungen: V 4 (1897); V 10 Nr. 5 (1905), V 12 Nr. 1 (1913), V 15 (1910) V 19 Nr. 2 (1910), V 14 (1913).

K 3. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Villa am Meer (5. Fassung). 1878; 110 × 160 cm; Leinwand; Winterthur, Kunstmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 177.

Vertonungen: V 6 (1913), V 9 (1915).

K 4. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Der heilige Hain. 1882; 105 × 150,5 cm; Leinwand; Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 363.

Vertonungen: V 4 (1897), V 7 (1913), V 8 Nr. 2 (1913).

K 5. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Das Schweigen des Waldes. 1885; 73 × 59 cm; Holz; Poznan, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 388.

Vertonung: V 8 Nr. 1 (1913).

K 6. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Liebesfrühling. 1868; 220 × 136 cm; Leinwand; Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 206.

Vertonungen: V 2 (1896), V 4 (1897), V 1 (1903).

K 7. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Gefilde der Seligen. 1978; 170 × 250 cm; Leinwand; bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg in Besitz der Nationalgalerie Berlin, seither verschollen. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 319.

Vertonungen: V 4 (1897), V 18 (1897).

K 8. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Meeresstille. 1887; 103 × 150 cm; Holz; Bern, Kunstmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 403.

Vertonung: V 4 (1897).

K 9. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Prometheus. 1882; 116 × 150 cm; Holz; Privatbesitz, Florenz. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 370.

Vertonung: V 4 (1897).

K 10. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Flötende Nympe. 1881; 80,7 × 54,8 cm; Holz; Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 361.

Vertonung: V 4 (1897).

K 11. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Die Nacht. 1870; 136 × 79 cm; Leinwand; Privatbesitz, Schweiz. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 236.

Vertonung: V 4 (1897).

K 12. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Bacchanale. 1885; 64 × 107 cm; Holz; Privatbesitz, Schweiz. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 390.

Vertonungen: V 4 (1897), V 12 Nr. 4 (1913).

K 13. BÖCKLIN, Arnold: Die Toteninsel (1. Fassung). 1880; 111 × 155 cm; Leinwand, Basel, Kunstmuseum. – Andree, Kat. Nr. 343.

Vertonungen: V 16 (1890), V 3 (1899), V 10 Nr. 3 (1905), V 17 (1905), V 11 (1907), V 19 Nr. 1 (1910), V 5 (1913), V 8 Nr. 3 (1913), V 12 Nr. 3 (1913), V 20 (1923).

Verzeichnis der Kompositionen nach Bildern von Arnold Böcklin

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- V 2. EIBENSCHÜTZ, José: *Liebesfrühling. Adagio für Orchester nach dem Gemälde von Böcklin* (1896) (Heilbronn: F. Schmidt, 1896).
- V 3. HALLÉN, Andreas: *Die Toteninsel. Symphonische Dichtung nach dem Gemälde von Böcklin. Für Orchester, op. 45* (1898) (Berlin: Raabe & Plothow, 1898).
- V 4. HUBER, Hans: *Symphonie Nr. 2 in e-Moll, op. 115* (1897) (Zürich: Hug & Co., 1901). Ursprünglicher, beim Druck gestrichener Titel der Symphonie: "Sieh, es lacht die Au". Im Finale Variationen unter dem Titel "Metamorphosen, angeregt durch Bilder von Böcklin": Meeresstille – Prometheus – Flötende Nymphe – Die Nacht – Im Spiel der Wellen – Der Einsiedler – Die Gefilde der Seligen – Liebesfrühling – Bacchanale. (Unveröffentlichte Variationen: Heiliger Hain – Jagd der Diana – Melancholie).
- V 5. JOACHIM ALBRECHT, Prinz von Preußen: *Die Toteninsel. Symphonische Dichtung für Orchester* (1913) (Berlin: Sulzbach, 1913).
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- V 7. LUBBE, Kurt: *Im heiligen Hain. Ein Stimmungsbild für Orchester nach dem Gemälde von Böcklin, op. 15* (1913) (Berlin: Neuer Berliner Musikverlag, 1913).
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Brancusi and Bartók: A Parallel*

Edith Balas

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The years prior to the First World War saw the European young generation of artists in an aesthetic revolution of perhaps unparalleled magnitude and diversity. The unbridled consumerism that arrived on the wings of technology had left many artists deeply disillusioned with the Western tradition in all its guises; one of the consequences was a profound new interest in the creative achievements of primitive and pre-industrial cultures, whose emulation might provide the necessary spark of artistic and cultural renewal. Prominent

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among such alternate traditions was the folklore, folk art, and folk music of the European countryside. By 1913 the Parisian artist Jacques Tougé could write:

[...] love of folklore has become a factor of artistic progress. For a society which apparently has arrived at the extreme limit of refinement, for painters lost in the blind alley of individualism, this art which is archaic, strong, expressive, and eternally young signifies a hope of renewal, of "rejuvenation", to use Paul Gauguin's word¹.

Among those whose use of such alternate sources was most intensive and consequential were two of the foremost East Europeans in the history of modernism, the Rumanian Brancusi and the Hungarian Bartók. Recalling his youthful break with Rodin and nineteenth-century sculptural practice, Brancusi once commented "all my efforts and training had proved just one thing: I was sure that I had thoroughly explored certain roads and they could yield me no further spiritual experience"². The composer Béla Bartók made very much the same point with reference to his own work: "The excesses of the romanticists began to be unbearable for many. There were composers who felt: 'This road does not lead us anywhere; there is no other solution but a complete break with the nineteenth century' "³.

As a fundamental means of achieving this break, Brancusi and Bartók each utilized a first-hand knowledge of his native folk traditions as a springboard for artistic innovation: both expanded the horizons of twentieth-century art by adapting the archaic conventions of the East European peasantry to a Western artistic context. Moreover, Brancusi and Bartók frequently employed similar methods and strategies in devising such new works, despite the obvious differences in their chosen disciplines.

Constantin Brancusi was born on February 19, 1876, in a small village in the province of Oltenia, the westernmost part of the then recently formed Kingdom of Rumania. His parents were peasants, small landholders. He spent his youth in this rural environment, graduated from the School of Arts and Crafts in the provincial town of Craiova at the age of twenty-two, and then attended the National School of Fine Arts in Bucharest. In 1904 he arrived in Paris and lived the rest of his life amidst that city's avant-garde. He died in 1957 at the age of eighty-one.

On March 25, 1881, Béla Bartók was born at Nagyszentmiklos in Hungarian Transylvania (now Rumania), a town of about 10,000 located only 200 miles from the birth-place of Brancusi. His father was director of the local agricultural school and a keen amateur musician; his mother was a piano teacher. Thus, Bartók witnessed peasant life, which existed just outside the city limits, without being in any way a part of it. Following the death of his father, he and his mother moved to Pozsony (now Bratislava) and ultimately to Budapest, where Bartók graduated from the Academy of Music in 1903 and where he would spend most of the remainder of his life. In 1940 he emigrated to the United States and died in New York City in 1945, aged sixty-four.

1 "Preface, L'Art Populaire Russe", in: *Société du Salon d'Automne, II^e Exposition* (Paris, 1913), p. 308. See Donald E. Gordon, *Modern Art Exhibitions 1900-1916* (Munich, 1974), vol. I, p. 28.

2 Malvina Hoffman, *Sculpture Inside Out* (New York, 1939), p. 51.

3 Béla Bartók, "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music", in: *Béla Bartók, A Memorial Review* (New York, 1950), p. 71.

By virtue of their respective class upbringings, then, Brancusi and Bartók came to be acquainted with folk art in markedly different ways. Brancusi was among the very few significant figures in the history of modernism to be reared amidst a flourishing folk tradition⁴. At the time of his birth the hamlets of Oltenia were as remote from the consequences of the Industrial Revolution as many communities in Europe; they remained, in V. G. Paleolog's apt phrase, in the "epoch of wood"⁵. Wood was used almost exclusively for building and for the crafting of utilitarian objects; over the centuries woodcarving had developed among the peasantry as both a necessary skill and a means of artistic expression. Brancusi entered the mainstream of this tradition when he enrolled in the local art school, where he made and embellished household objects and also carved such traditional folk sculptures as dolls and masks. Only on his arrival in Bucharest was he introduced to that Beaux-Arts style and practice that knew no national boundaries. Over the following decade he absorbed this tradition as well as the ideas of Rodin, to whom he served as assistant for a brief time upon his move to Paris.

Yet Brancusi's dissatisfaction with Rodin led him to embark on what may be seen, in retrospect, as a vanguard-inspired return to what he knew as a youth. In 1907 he turned for good to the practice of direct carving, thereby renouncing not just the technique of modeling but the very notion of the clay or plaster model upon which traditional sculptural practice was based. By 1913 he was executing such direct carvings in wood, under the initial influence of the sculpture of black Africa. And this in turn led him to reconsider the possibilities of a tradition of wood carving that was not only his by right of birth but which he himself had practiced when young: the vernacular carving of the Rumanian countryside⁶.

Bartók's early years witnessed a similar struggle against tradition. For him, rejecting the past meant freeing himself from the dominant influence of the German late Romantics;

4 For a full account of Brancusi's life and art vis-à-vis his native land, see my book: *Brancusi and Rumanian Folk Traditions* (Boulder, Colorado, 1987), (East European Monographs).

5 V. G. Paleolog, *Tineretea lui Brancusi* (Bucharest, 1967), p. 25.

6 The question of Brancusi's primitivism demands a few additional comments. Art historians have traditionally regarded African carving as the premier primitivizing influence on Brancusi's development, to the virtual exclusion of Rumanian sources. They have thus been quick to observe elements of African derivation in a broad spectrum of works dating from virtually every phase of the sculptor's career. I believe that Brancusi's interest in African art was more in the nature of an episode, and was confined to a short sequence of works beginning with *The First Step* of 1913, a sequence which encompasses Brancusi's first figural essays in wood. It is revealing that these works were without exception either destroyed or drastically revised following their execution, suggesting that the process of making images immediately inspired by African art was a difficult one for Brancusi. Yet the lasting significance of these attempts was nonetheless twofold. In the first place, African sculpture was undoubtedly a factor in leading Brancusi to reconsider the possibilities of wood. And as an ultimate consequence of this new interest, he began to incorporate elements of Rumanian carving. To use a term coined by Jean Laude, African art functioned for Brancusi as a "revealer", as a trigger which released reminiscences of his native folk art buried by long academic training. In retrospect, it is scarcely surprising that Brancusi should have turned initially to African art, for it enjoyed the full blessing of the avant-garde and was widely discussed among his acquaintances; Rumanian carving was essentially unknown and, perhaps more importantly, lacking in any notable figural tradition in sculpture. For a full discussion see my above-mentioned book (*Brancusi and Rumanian Folk Traditions*, see footnote 4). The whole issue of "primitivism" in twentieth-century art was raised in an exhibition of that name and a catalog of the Museum of Modern Art in New York (1984). Subsequent discussions were published in the *Artforum* 23 (November 1984) 54-62 (Feb. 1985) 41-51 and (May 1985) 63-71. My position on the subject was stated long before the exhibition in the article "The Myth of African Art in Brancusi's Work", in: *Revue Roumaine de l'Histoire de l'Art* (Bucharest, 1978), pp. 107-125, and I discussed the issues raised by the exhibition in my book, pp. 24-25, 36-37, notes on pages 69-70.

innovation meant the creation of a uniquely Hungarian music that was at once ancient and modern European in character. The solution to the problem proved to lie with his researches into peasant music⁷—a subject which he was forced to approach from the outside, as it were, since he lacked Brancusi's native intimacy with peasant culture. In the summers of 1906 and 1907, Bartók made the first of many extended tours of remote village of the Hungarian provinces, seeking out and recording and transcribing songs whose authenticity as folk music could not be questioned. He spent fourteen years in ethno-musicological field work on Hungarian, Slovak, Rumanian territories. What he found, especially in Transylvania, was a body of material very far removed from "the usual gypsy slop" of the cafés; moreover, it chanced to be immediately relevant to his burgeoning awareness of modernism:

In 1907, at the instigation of Kodály, I became acquainted with Debussy's work, studied it through thoroughly and was greatly surprised to find in his work "pentatonic phrases" similar in character to those contained in our peasant music. I was sure these could be attributed to influences of folk music from Eastern Europe, very likely from Russia. Similar influences can be traced in Igor Stravinsky's work. It seems therefore, that in our age, modern music has developed along similar lines in countries geographically far away from each other. It has become rejuvenated under the influence of a kind of peasant music that has remained untouched by the musical creations of the last centuries⁸.

While several composers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries turned, as Bartók did, to the modalities of their native folk music as the basis for composition, it was he who most thoroughly and extensively transformed these modes into the materials of a new musical language.

He knew the essential difference between the authentic peasant songs and those folk elements which became so thoroughly filtered and distorted when incorporated into the sentimental or romantic idioms of the European art-music. He said:

The effects of peasant music cannot be deep or permanent unless the music is studied in the country as part of life shared with the peasants. It is not enough to study it as it is stored up in the museums. It is the character of peasant music, indescribable in words, that must find its way into our music. It must be pervaded by the very atmosphere of peasant culture. Peasant motives (or imitations of such motives) will only lend our music some new ornaments; nothing more⁹.

Bartók and Kodály were the first who scientifically investigated the folk music which led them to use it for the purpose of profoundly altering the foundations of the traditional major-minor scale system. "The outcome of these studies was of decisive influence upon my work," Bartók said, "because it freed me from the tyrannical rule of the major and minor keys"¹⁰.

7 See Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók* (New York, 1953), p. 8, and Ernő Lendvai, "Duality and Synthesis in the Music of Béla Bartók", in György Kepes (ed.), *Module, Proportion, Symmetry, Rhythm* (New York, 1966), pp. 174–193.

8 Béla Bartók, "The Life of Béla Bartók", in *A Memorial Review* (footnote 3), p. 9. Debussy visited Russia as a young man.

9 Elliott Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók* (Berkeley-London, 1984), p. 313.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 26.

Robert Goldwater has formulated a historical pattern of primitivist tendencies in twentieth-century art which may be profitably applied to both Brancusi and Bartók¹¹. Each began with the impulse of some direct, yet culturally remote, influence (African art, authentic peasant art); each discovered therein affinities with a primitive style by purging his own work of elements extraneous to it. For both artists, a key consequence of this process was the achievement of a new simplicity of form. "Simplicity," said Brancusi, "is not an end in art, but we arrive at simplicity in spite of ourselves as we approach the real origin of things."¹² Bartók wrote:

A (peasant) melody [...] is a classic example of the expression of a musical thought in its most conceivably concise form, with the avoidance of all that is superfluous [...]. So above all, from this music we could learn how best to employ terseness of expression; to cultivate the utmost excision of all that is non-essential. And it was this very thing, after the excessive grandiloquence of the romantic period, which we thirsted to learn¹³.

Brancusi's celebration of work, his deep reverence for materials, his avoidance of theorization, and perhaps most importantly his lack of concern with hierarchical distinctions between "art" and "craft", the "aesthetic" and the "utilitarian"—in these various ways his attitude was less that of an artist in the post-Renaissance tradition than that of a craftsman. "Artisans are our brothers", Brancusi stated on another occasion: "We are as they are, out-of-doors workers and not just studio rats."¹⁴ Perhaps the best indication of Brancusi's disregard for the boundaries between life and art was his frequent use of the forms of utilitarian objects (either found or created) in his pedestals and sculptures or even pedestals *as* sculptures and vice versa. Brancusi's lack of concern with hierarchical distinction between art and "craft", the aesthetic and the utilitarian can be paralleled with Bartók's lack of concern with hierarchical distinction between folk music and art music. The difference between the two attitudes was that Brancusi considered himself the "artisan's brother", viewing the folk art as part of his own heritage, and Bartók, although the folk melodies were for him a significant source of melodic and harmonic invention, approached them as a theoretician, as an outsider. Bartók was not only a performer and composer, but also a musicologist. He regarded his analytical studies of popular melodies as his most important contribution to music. This is an important point where the comparison between the masters stops. One was a theoretician (Bartók) and the other artist was completely disinterested in advancing theory on art (Brancusi).

Elsewhere, Bartók claimed of peasant music that its "expressive power is amazing, and at the same time it is devoid of all sentimentality and superfluous ornaments"¹⁵. This unalloyed forcefulness was something Bartók sought to achieve in his own music, primarily through the use of free and varied rhythmic phrases and ranges of tempi and the steady repetition of primitive motifs, all of which create an air of feverish excitement. Precisely because of this he was stigmatized as a "barbarous shatterer of form", "aggressive", "Asiatic", and "gruesome"¹⁶. A similar expressive power is frequently evident in Brancu-

11 Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, revised edition (New York, 1967), Introduction p. xiii.

12 Constantin Brancusi, "Aphorisms", in: *This Quarter* (Paris, 1925), No. 1, art supplement, p. 235.

13 Maurice Halpern, "Béla Bartók Explains", in: *Musical America*, January 21, 1928, p. 15.

14 Benjamin Fondain, "Brancusi", in: *Cahier d'Etoile II* (1929), p. 715.

15 Bartók, "The Influence of Peasant Music" (footnote 3), p. 71.

16 Lendvai (footnote 7), p. 183.

si's wood sculptures, in their staccato alternation of solids and voids, of curved and straight edges. This essential abruptness, this "freedom of attack upon (the) contours," was likewise viewed as primitive¹⁷.

In addition to the simplicity and expressive forcefulness they share, both Brancusi's sculpture and Bartók's music are characterized by formal economy; the "lucidity of textures and compact organization of structures"¹⁸ in Bartók's music are evident as well in Brancusi's sculpture. Folk music provided Bartók with a means of liberating classical formal principles by introducing new scales, melodies, and rhythmic phrases. In Brancusi's case, folk sculpture assisted in the discovery of an abstract style whose forms were vigorous and coherent without being anatomically descriptive.

Given the obvious differences between their artistic media, the methods Brancusi and Bartók employed in assimilating folk art are surprisingly akin. In his essay "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music", Bartók recognized three ways in which folk music might serve as a basis for art music¹⁹. In the first of these, the composer utilizes an authentic folk melody, unchanged or only slightly altered, and provides it with an accompaniment and possibly with opening and concluding materials. The second method is one in which the composer uses no authentic melody, but invents his own in imitation of folk song. The third method is more fundamental: the composer employed neither folk melodies nor imitations thereof, but rather incorporates their essence in such a way that it pervades his music.

Bartók's *Improvisation on Fifteen Hungarian Peasant Songs*, Opus 20 (fig. 1) is the first work in which the composer took authentic folk songs as a basis but varied, developed, and modified their themes. An example of Bartók's second method is "In the Style of Folksong" from the *Mikrokosmos* (fig. 2); the composer does not make use of a real peasant melody but devises his own imitation. With the third method, Bartók completely absorbed the idiom of peasant music and made it his musical "mother tongue". An example is *The Night's Music* (fig. 3), of which Ernő Lendvai has written:

Bartók amalgamates three different musical elements—the fundamental layer is the faint *scuttling noise of nature* (A) and its beings (B). The lamenting-hymnic chorale melody of the "Ego" rises above it (C) joined by the contrasting theme conjuring folk music and a shepherd's flute—the music of "The Others" (D). The structure is A + B, A + C, A + D, A + C + D, coda²⁰.

In some of his wooden sculptures, Brancusi adopted a technique very much akin to Bartók's first method. A good example is the ten-foot-high *King of Kings* of c. 1920 (fig. 4). Though the work was carved from a single block of wood, it appears to have been conceived as an amalgamation of discrete parts, each of which was inspired by a characteristic type of Rumanian folk sculpture. Thus, the bottommost unit is similar to the assembled chair backs (fig. 5) and virtually identical to a cottage low table present in many photographs of the artist's studio (fig. 6). Above this appears a spiraled cylinder

17 Goldwater (footnote 11), p. 233.

18 Stevens (footnote 7), p. 120.

19 Bartók, "The Influence of Peasant Music" (footnote 3), p. 71–74.

20 Ernő Lendvai comments on Bartók's *The Night Music* presented by Denes Bartha, former professor of composition of the University of Pittsburgh.

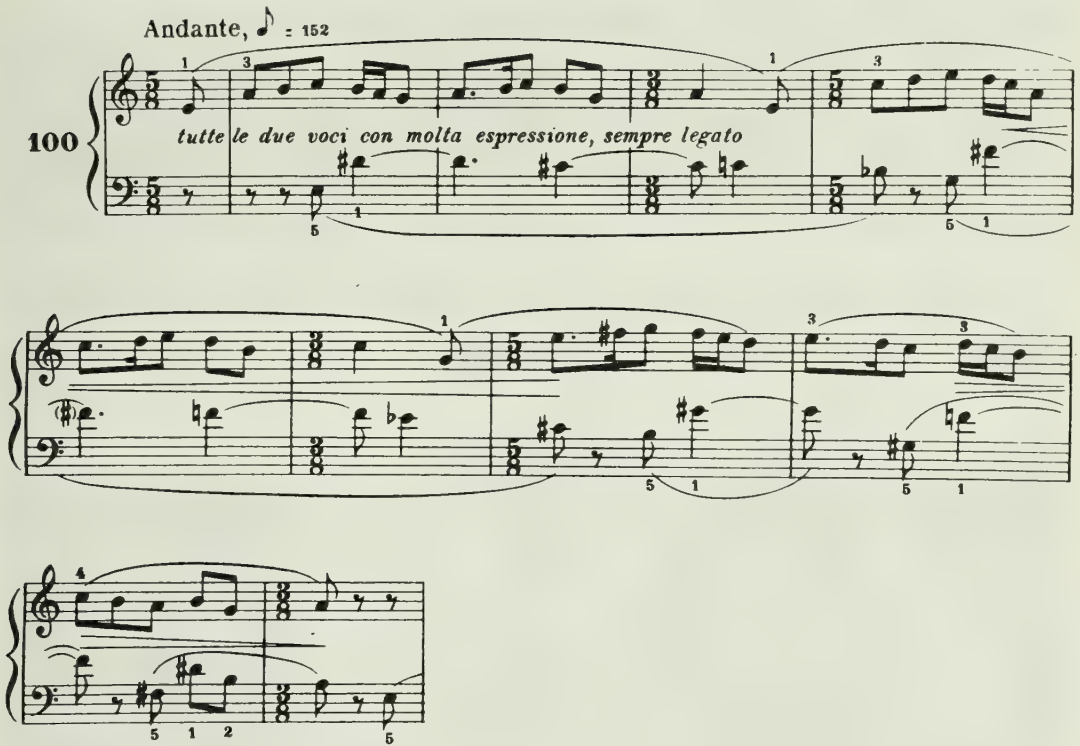


Fig. 1

reminiscent of a familiar type of Oltenian folk pillar (fig. 7). The serrated forms in the body of the sculpture echo such vernacular architectural forms as a segment of gate post (fig. 8); the grooving of the neck recalls Rumanian mugs (fig. 9), and the head and crown bear a resemblance to the decorative tops of grave posts, which are themselves vaguely anthropomorphic (fig. 10). The head is also reminiscent of a simplified folk mask (fig. 11). Thus, *King of Kings* utilizes a vocabulary of actual Rumanian folk motifs, "assembled" to form a powerfully expressive whole.

Bartók's second procedure is comparable to the way in which Brancusi's sculpture *Medallion* (1919; fig. 12) was conceived. *Medallion* is a slab of stone with an iron ring attached to it; its motif derives from the famous *Kiss* of 1910. Yet it bears at the same time a fundamental structural resemblance to the well weights, or shaducks, used in the Rumanian countryside (fig. 13).

Finally, Brancusi utilized the third principle described by Bartók, in which the artist seeks to convey something of the essence of folk art. A good example is the *Timidity* and base now located in the recreated studio in the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris (fig. 14). The handling of the wood base shows a certain formal kinship with the votive crosses found along the waysides of rural Rumania (fig. 15); Brancusi and the peasant artisan demonstrate a similar sort of sculptural inventiveness, opening up the monolith of the block by means of narrow vertical interstices that exploit the fibrous grain of the

Molto capriccioso.
(♩ = 63) *accelerando sempre.*

Piano. *pesante*

- al Vivace.
(♩ = 144)

Meno mosso.
(♩ = 112) *ritardando.* *- molto*
(♩ = 50)

a tempo (tranquillo)
(♩ = 100) *ritard. molto. - a tempo*

Vivace.
(♩ = 144)
*subito, dim. mi
leggero*

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems of music. The first system is in 4/4 time, marked 'Molto capriccioso.' with a tempo of 63 quarter notes per minute. It begins with a piano (p) dynamic and a 'pesante' (heavy) marking. The tempo then accelerates ('accelerando sempre'). The second system continues the piece, marked '- al Vivace.' with a tempo of 144 quarter notes per minute. The third system is marked 'Meno mosso.' with a tempo of 112 quarter notes per minute, followed by a 'ritardando.' (ritardando) section and then 'molto' (molto) with a tempo of 50 quarter notes per minute. The fourth system is marked 'a tempo (tranquillo)' with a tempo of 100 quarter notes per minute, followed by a 'ritard. molto.' (ritardando molto) section and then 'a tempo'. The fifth system is marked 'Vivace.' with a tempo of 144 quarter notes per minute, followed by a 'subito, dim. mi leggero' (suddenly, diminuendo, molto leggero) section. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (p, sf, mf, mp, dim.).

Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

wood. The relative proportions of voids and masses are quite comparable, as if the two sculptors were working with the same awareness of just what the wood would permit. Likewise, the stony substance and austere lobed silhouette of the *Timidity* itself recall a type of cemetery cross that Brancusi probably knew as a youth (fig. 16). It may well be that the combination of units seen in *Timidity* (fig. 14) was on some level motivated by the artist's recollections of Rumanian crosses, with the *Timidity's* asymmetry serving not only to introduce variety but also to avoid express referentiality. Brancusi has here "divined the spirit" of folk sculpture to achieve a new, unified style.



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

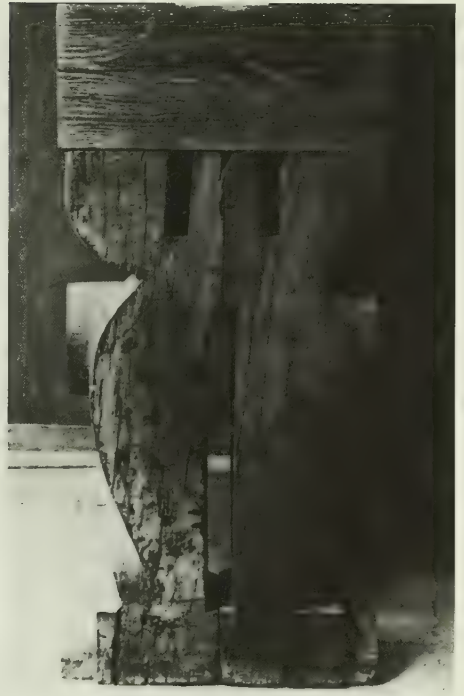


Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

In seeking to incorporate forms of folk art in their work, Brancusi and Bartók turned to the concept of assemblage (see the *Night's Music*, fig. 3, and the *King of Kings*, fig. 4). By choosing individual motifs from quite disparate folk sources, and juxtaposing these so that some measure of formal autonomy was retained, both artists departed from the classical concept of unity to test the possibilities of a new kind of coherence.

How was this stylistic duality, this new kind of coherence achieved? Percy Scholes wrote,

Bartók resolved to use the ancient scales found in the peasant music and to bring into existence new harmonies, and this, in time led to his gradual abandonment of the existing diatonic system and the chromatic system based upon it, and to the gradual taking up of a new style in which the twelve notes of the chromatic scale were considered as independent entities, ready to submit to all sorts of unheard-of combinations²¹.

Bartók in 1934 was criticized by Constant Lambert for “lack of rapport” between melodic and harmonic elements:

[...] the melody becoming definitely simpler, squarer, and more “folksy”, while the harmonic treatment becomes more cerebral and *outré*. The gap between the two becomes such that in some passages [...] the composer gives up all attempts to bridge it, merely punctuating each pause in an innocent folksong with a resounding, brutal and discordant crash [...]²².

Bartók’s point of view was already expressed in print in 1920: “It may sound odd, but... the simpler the melody, the more unusual may be its accompanying harmony”²³.

21 Percy A. Scholes, “Bartók, Béla”, in *The Oxford Companion of Music* (London, 1965), 9th ed., p. 87.

22 Lambert quoted in Halsey Stevens, *Bartók* (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 69. Constant Lambert, *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline* (London, 1964, revised 1937), p. 122–123.

23 Bartók quoted, *ibidem*, p. 69.

In Bartók's Fourth String Quartet the tonalities are more sharply defined, his melodies are more folk-like and his harmonies tend toward greater lucidity, extreme simplicity, and rhythmic complexity. Polyphonic manipulation is intensified with emphasis on canon, fugato and imitation. On the other hand, as Halsey Stevens points out,

[...] tonally Bartók seldom strayed far from the fundamental principles of classical structure, but as time went on he found himself looking to earlier models than Haydn and Mozart: to Bach and the pre-Bach period for continuous or additive forms as opposed to the developmental and other closed forms of the Viennese composers²⁴.

Brancusi's oeuvre is characterized by a similar stylistic duality, expressive of what might be termed his dual personality. On the one hand, he was a man of intellect striving for absolute truth, an idealist searching to free himself of the heavy burden of matter. Emotionally, he was restrained and aloof. This side of his personality expressed itself in sculptures of an almost classical purity and harmony whose method was reductive; simplifying his motif's original form, he peeled away layer after layer until its essence stood revealed in an object of pristine beauty. On the other hand, he was a materialist: humorous, rough, intuitive. This aspect of his character found expression in an inductive method, the sculpture being assembled from a chosen vocabulary of constituent parts. The reductive work reflects the more conservative side of his artistic personality, where a kind of Art Nouveau elegance breaks through; the second category relates to a revolutionary side through which he embraced his peasant background²⁵. Both aspects often appear in a single work, as, for example, in *Little Bird* (1928; fig. 17), where a polished, refined form is displayed on a rough wooden base.

Much of Brancusi's achievement lay in his ability to fuse two important attitudes. One is a feeling for nature, of the peasant who is guided by instinct, mystical power, gaiety and humor. The other attitude emphasizes formal perfection, classical sobriety, and emotional restraint.

The dual character of Brancusi's sculpture and Bartók's music was basically determined by both men's assimilation of Western cultural traditions and subsequent concern with East European folk art. And in each case, dual sources of inspiration led to ambiguity of configuration. Trivial forms (folk melodies or objects) were disguised through artistic treatment and employed in alien contexts. The resulting intermixture of different layers of artistic expression was charged with a tension which the artist concealed or emphasized at will. This led to neither meaninglessness nor obscurity, but rather the expression of two or more meanings by a single form or sound system.

Bartók molded seemingly incompatible and incongruous materials into an effective whole, "a peculiar visual system which permits things to be seen from two aspects"²⁶. *The*

24 *Ibidem*, p. 306.

25 Because Brancusi never abandoned a preference for the food, clothing, and furnishings of rural Rumania, he was long viewed as a kind of Balkan naïf living in the heart of Paris. This is to misunderstand the nature of Brancusi's "peasantness". Of the latter, Petru Comarnescu has aptly written that it "should be understood as a metaphor rather than a reality. It should be understood as a state of mind of the artist, as his special approach to the values of his life and art, as his aptitude for living a simplified existence, as his capacity to be attached to elementary things and to communicate with nature". "Universalitate si Specific National", in: *Tribuna* (Cluj, 1975), February 24, 1966, p. 2

26 Same source as in footnote 20.



Fig. 17

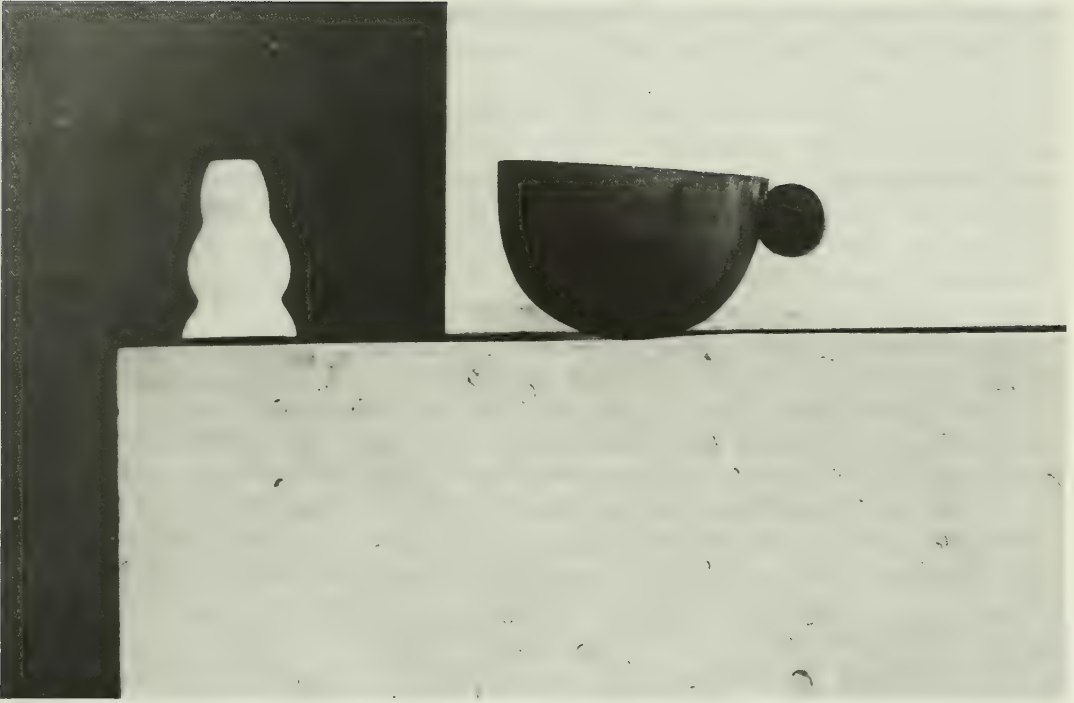


Fig. 18

Night's Music (fig. 3) is a fine example. With Brancusi, commonplace objects came to the fore as part of a new artistic concern with the unadorned and trivial. Just as Wassily Kandinsky perceived a double life, formal and utilitarian, in all objects²⁷, so Brancusi's *Cup* (1918; fig. 18) is possessed of a fundamental ambiguity; because it is not hollowed out, it reads as both object and sculpture.

Bartók was an intellectual, an ardent student of folk music, seeking the roots of meters, rhythms, and modalities in the songs and dances of people. He was thoroughly trained in the musical language of nineteenth-century European music. He preserved this heritage in his concepts of musical genres, contrapuntal writing, and instrumentation. Exploring the unspoiled music of the Balkans with its unfamiliar tonal and rhythmic combinations, he saw the possibility of application and exploitation of this "ancient" music in his composition. The experience of Debussy's music seemed to be the catalyst which inspired him to merge the two experiences, the art music and folk music, and thus he was able to find his own style as a composer.

Brancusi was of peasant origin, became a sophisticated intellectual but never rejected his background. He drew upon his technical visual and spiritual heritage. His studio in the Impasse Ronsin in the heart of Montparnasse, which may now be seen in recreated form in the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, was a simple whitewashed place, with a

27 "On the Problem of Form", in: Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art* (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 155–170.

primitive fireplace and furnishings made by the artist himself. Yet in a sense probably more daring and modern than Bartók, he completely rejected his nineteenth-century artistic experience.

The ideas of the avant-garde, with which Brancusi was deeply involved, prompted him to exploit his native peasant artisan traditions in a new context. His technique of assemblage exemplifies his synthesis of tradition and innovation: the method itself was totally Parisian—but the objects and images belonged to his background. Other aspects of his work can be accounted for as being inspired by French modern art (Matisse, Gauguin, Nedelmann, Douanier Rousseau and others).

Bartók opened up new sources of inspiration to musicians, and demonstrated novel methods of harmonization, rhythmic combination, proportion, dynamics, color, and register. Brancusi was equally influential; as Henry Moore said, he made people “shape-conscious” and opened our eyes to the beauty and meaning of pure forms.

In the history of the arts, the position of each man can be summed up as a point of intersection between Eastern and Western culture.²⁸ This privileged position enabled the artists to achieve breakthroughs in their respective fields by finding formal and ideological solutions to problems posed by their artistic environment, longed for in vain by many of their contemporaries. Brancusi and Bartók were engaged in different disciplines and belonged to no organized movements. They did not even know one another. Yet in their art they reveal a profound and enduring affinity. They revolutionized Western art by revitalizing it with East European folk art, introducing new methods and forms which opened up new ways of thinking.

28 “On the Sculpture and Primitive Art”, in: Robert L. Herbert (ed.), *Modern Artists on Art* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964), p. 142.

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Briefly describes a young prince with a harp "of nineteenth-century Gothic revival craftsmanship" carved at the top of the recorder.

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